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77

No. *Germany-Turkey.*

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

Subject: *Germany relations with
Turkey.*

FILE COPY.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.

3978 MS

DECYPHER FROM
HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

Date sent 18th Nov. 1942
12.41 p.m.
Rcvd. 19th Nov. 1942

No. S. 147.

For Minister. MOST SECRET.

Turkey.

Following are the views of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs about the effect of recent developments on the Turkish position. While he is not well regarded in certain United Kingdom quarters, I personally have a high appreciation for Numaty's intelligence and over a very long period have always found him well disposed. In his latest interview with the British Ambassador he said that while he could not exclude that it might be Hitler's intention to create a diversion by attacking Turkey, he was doubtful whether in the present circumstances Germany could spare the fifty divisions which would be required for the operation. In any case nothing could happen till spring, since the Turkish army and the Turkish winter were a sufficiently strong combination to deter Germany from any action during the coming month.

Numaty also thought it possible that Germany still feared that Turkey would ultimately come in against her or at least allow the British to pass through and that in that case it could not be excluded that Germany might attack Turkey for preventive reasons before Turkey declared herself.

Turkey's official reactions to the victory in Egypt and Allied landings in French North Africa have been entirely favourable and press comment has been almost enthusiastic. Generally the Turkish attitude is briefly that, though the end of the war is not yet, the issue is becoming clearly grasped in a manner satisfactory to Turkey.

ERUCE.

Copy to - P.M.
Min. E.A.
Defence. 19.11.42.

14.11.42.

C.144 from
S.S.

2. TURKEY.

My telegram 29th November, G. No.112. Negotiations have continued regarding supplies of chrome to ourselves and the United States in 1943 and 1944. We have been pressing the Turks to agree to grant us in return for our offer to pay German prices for all chrome above ground on 8th January, 1943, absolute equality of treatment with the Germans in disposal of Turkish chrome output in 1943 and 1944. Turkish Government have maintained that in view of the limited amount of chrome available and their commitments to Germany they cannot comply. The negotiations have for long hinged round the interpretation of Clodius Agreement under which Germany can claim chrome in these years provided that:

(1) Certain specified war material is delivered and,

(2) Thereafter a new Armaments Agreement is concluded both by 31st March, 1943.

Neither condition has yet in our view been fulfilled, although Turkish Government claim that, as they altered the list of specific armaments, they must give the Germans time to deliver and that the Armaments Agreement now under negotiation in Berlin satisfies the second condition.

The latter point we regard as breach of Turkish assurances (my telegram 16th June, D. No.299, 20th June, Newfoundland No. 323, Southern Rhodesia No. 297) that Berlin negotiations were in no way connected with chrome.

We are continuing to press the Turkish Government as Allies to meet our proposals and to put strictest interpretation of the terms of Clodius Agreement but in spite of strategic importance of chrome we are not prepared in the last resort to allow this issue to imperil Anglo-Turkish relations.

Copy to War Cabinet.
War Advisory Council.
Defence.
External Affairs.

16/11/42.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

VS.

CABLEGRAM.

DECIPHER FROM

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

SENT 13.11.42. 3.35 p.m.
RECD. 14.11.42.

IMMEDIATE.

No. S.144.

Most secret. Turkey.

Dominions Office telegram G.137 November 6,
paragraph 2.

Head of the Southern Department today emphasised the trouble given by the Turks in the last few weeks. They had been less than frank with the British over chrome negotiations and it had been necessary to talk to them more plainly than at any time before. He thought this had had some effect. At any rate the Turks had not yet signed the proposed Chrome Agreement with Germany, which they had allowed to get tied up with their armaments negotiations. It now seemed clear that about a month ago German pressure on Turkey had been heavy and a good deal of German infiltration, with technicians et cetera, had been going on.

The Turkish President's statement on November 1, regarding the trouble and discontent in Turkey had caused considerable surprise here. Howard said that his own first reaction had been that President Inonu was playing up Turkey's troubles in order to obtain more supplies from the British. The British Ambassador at Ankara has now reported that the Prime Minister had complained to him of "a certain amount of German inspired political intrigue by retired generals and journalists" with a view to upsetting the Government and the President. It is not yet clear however whether this intrigue is confined to Quislings. The British Ambassador states on the surface there is no evidence of any important political agitation but there is an uneasy atmosphere and the Turkish Government undoubtedly have an awkward winter to face in view of the economic situation, bread being the main problem.

The Ambassador has not yet reported as to the significance of the press report that all Army leave has been cancelled but Howard commented that it seemed obvious that if Hitler proposed to take some counter action to the Allies landings in North Africa, entry into Turkey - or Spain - was the most probable course.

Turkey-Soviet relations remain as before, dominated by distrust, but the respective Ambassadors have at last returned to their posts and at the moment there is a lull.

Stirling.

Copy to P.M.,
Min. E.A.,
Defence.

14/11/42.

Extract from
S.O.

6112

29.9.42

4. Turkey.

to be sent to Turkey
My telegram 23rd September, G.109. We are no longer pressing for Chrome Agreement from 1945 onwards, and are instead concentrating on restricting supplies of chrome to Germany in 1942 and 1943. By present agreement we are entitled to all chrome produced up to January 8, 1943, but producers may hold back in order to obtain better prices offered by Germans subsequent to that date.

We have, therefore, authorised His Majesty's Ambassador to make an offer at German prices for all chrome above ground by January 8, 1943, and United States Government have agreed to share the extra expenditure involved.

File

*Letter from
D. S.*

109

23.9.42.

Turkey 2.

Germany, Turkey
My telegram 21/9 G 107. His Majesty's Ambassador has now been authorised to offer same prices as Germans for all Turkish Chrome for 1943 and 1944 over and above amount already committed to Germany and make further offer to take whole output for 3 years starting January 1945 or for duration of war and one year beyond which is the less.



2

Turkey Germany

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

DECYPHER FROM: **CABLEGRAM.** JF. 2196.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER.
L O N D O N.

Date Sent: 27/8/42.
9.40p.m.

No. S.91.

Date Recv.: 28/8/42.

MOST SECRET.

Turkey.

In view of the importance of Turkey at the present stage, mid-way between the Egyptian and South Russian fronts, I was glad to find that the attitude of the Turkish Ambassador, with whom I had conversation last night, remains sound as regards the British alliance.

In the course of a long private talk he showed considerable pessimism with regard to the present position of Russia, though allowance has to be made for Turkish wishful thinking. He said that he thought it probable that the Germans would break through to the Volga and the Caspian and this might well have the effect of breaking up the unity of Russia. He spoke of large numbers of Ukrainians, Georgians, White Russians and nationals of the other component republics of the Soviet Union, whom the Germans had long been training in Germany for "liberation" movements. When the Germans had completely overrun the southern part of the U.S.S.R. they would set up a number of puppet states, the movement might easily spread (my own feeling about this is that the Russian Government would make short shrift of all potential Quislings in the areas in question) and thus eventually achieve disintegration of the whole of the Union.

From the above the Ambassador drew the conclusion that we were wasting our time in diverting tanks and aircraft to Russia and said it would pay us much better to concentrate these on the Middle East including Turkey.

This is the first time I have known the Ambassador to take a line of this kind which is naturally enough directed to what he considers to be Turkey's own urgent needs.

The main point however is that throughout the conversation there was not the slightest hint that if we did not supply her needs Turkey would go over to Germany, or be forced to submit to German demands. In this regard the Ambassador's attitude is very firm and he was emphatic that if Germany turned on the Turks they would resist come what may.

BRUCE.

Copy to - Prime Minister.
Minister P.A.
Dept. of Defence.

28/8/42.

file

EXTRACT FROM
E.A. CHUNGKING

London

8.88

24.42

*Germany
Turkey*
6. Turkey. The head of the Southern Department today expressed the view that British relations with Turkey are satisfactory. At the time of the German victory in Libya in June the Turks had taken every opportunity to stress that they were not merely fair weather friends. A certain amount of contact with Germany went on e.g. visit of journalists to ~~it~~ but this was inevitable. Two months there was some anxiety in some quarters over Turkish armaments Delegation to Berlin and it was believed that German supplies on a large scale were to commence at the beginning of August and be completed by October. Negotiations however had been dragging on in Berlin and nothing in the way of material has as yet reached Turkey. Howard said he was not apprehensive about Turkish Russian relations. He did not think there was the least likelihood of Turkey stabbing Russia in the back. Turkey's chronic distrust of Russia was a constant cloud in the background of Anglo-Turkish relations.

Turkish Press Delegation which returned from Germany August 17th is reliably reported to have advised the Turkish Government that while discipline and morale of the German Army was excellent, the internal situation was bad, food being very short and discontent general amongst the people. They thought that trouble was inevitable unless the Gestapo and the armed forces were too strong.

Stirling

~~portion of message corrupted repeat asked for.~~

True

EXTRACT FROM

STATE

D. 379

20.8.42

Germany
Turkey
Turkey

1. Prime Minister has assured His Majesty's Ambassador that, despite successes in Russia, there has been no fresh German pressure on Turkey. He regards this as a sign of German weakness.

Germany - Turkey

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET
F. 32766.

NET/IB

DECYPHER FROM:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

CE 43/70
DATED 16th August, 1942.
8.20 P.M.
RECEIVED 17th August, 1942.

D. No. 374.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

1. Turkey.

My telegram 20th July, D.No. 538. Ministry for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Ambassador that Turkey has still not received any German war material under Arms agreement and negotiations in Berlin are encountering considerable difficulties.

2. Far East.

My telegram of 16th August D. No. 373 paragraph 5. Agent-General for India in Washington has reported that Chinese have been pressing United States Government to mediate in India. State Department have assured him that United States Government has no intention of taking action that might impair our military position.

Copy to War Cabinet.
War Advisory Council.
Defence, E.A.
16/7 18/8/42.

file

Trade Germany-Turkey.
EXTRACT. ML.

REPORT ON INCOMING SHORT WAVE BROADCASTS.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA.

Saturday August 1, 1942.

10 a.m. SAIGON - News in French.

GERMAN-TURKISH TRADE AGREEMENT.

Istanbul: Turkey has signed an agreement with Germany by which she will export to Germany 45,000 tons of chrome. It is reported that Sarajoglu has asked the United States Minister in Ankara whether the United States can send Turkey 5,000 tons of wheat.

CABLEGRAM.

NHN/PA



I.28753

CE 72

Dated: 21st July, 1942.

9.24 p.m.

Received: 22nd July, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM:
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N

Circular D. No. 348. **S E C R E T.**

Following for Prime Minister. Turkey, my telegram 5th June, D. No. 280.

Two German military engineers have been supervising installation of a telegraph system from Bulgarian frontier to Angora. His Majesty's ambassador has made representations to Turkish government who say the contract is purely commercial. Capacity of the service and previous German technique in the Balkans suggest, however, strategic significance.

Copy for War Cabinet
War Advisory Council
Dept. Defence
E.A.
Rt. Hon. P. Fraser

22/7/42

CABLEGRAM.

I. 30334

NRW/103

CA 2
Sent 20th July, 1942.
2.55 p.m.
Received 21st July, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D. (Message undecypherable. Repetition being obtained.

maintained that Spanish Government had clear conscience and were victims of fraud. He said he had protested to Italian Ambassador, but when pressed to issue public statement of disapproval and to ban all belligerent submarines from Spanish waters he was evasive.

2. FINLAND :

On grounds that Finnish Government have undermined basis upon which U.S. Consular representation was maintained U.S. Government are closing their Consular Office in Finland (at Helsinki) and are requesting closure of all (15) Finnish Consular Offices in United States of America.

3. GENERAL :

All His Majesty's Missions accredited to the Allied Governments in London are now embassies. The Uruguayan Government, Peruvian Government and also Persian Government, have indicated that they would also like His Majesty's Missions accredited to them respectively raised from legations to embassies. We are, however, maintaining decision to create no more new embassies during the war since any further change would make it even more difficult and invidious than at present to draw dividing line between embassies and legations.

4. FRENCH MOROCCO :

Contrary to previous practice the German Armistice Commission at Casablanca have started to control shipments of French troops and arms from Casablanca to Dakar.

5. TURKEY :

My telegram 18th June D. No. 303, in response to enquiry, Prime Minister recently informed His Majesty's Ambassador that Germans had not yet delivered any war material, though they kept on increasing their offers. Assistant Secretary General attributes delay to the problem of reducing quantity of war material to the financial limit now stated to be 110,000,000 marks. Prime Minister confirmed that some Turks were being sent to Germany to learn to use German tanks.

Copy to War Cabinet,
War Advisory Council,
Defence,
E.A.

21/7/42.

CABLEGRAM.

NHW/IB

DECYPHER FROM:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I. 24385.

CE 73/159

DATED 22nd June, 1942.

11 p.m.

RECEIVED 23rd June, 1942.



D.No. 307.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

Turkey. My telegram 21st June, D. No. 304.

His Majesty's Ambassador saw President on 20th June and in view of Turkish apprehension assured him that our policy towards Turkey was not merely a war-time policy; we wished to strengthen our policy and economic relations with Turkey and to collaborate still more closely after the war. The President agreed, reiterated his loyalty to Anglo-Turkish connection and expressed confidence in our policy and sympathy with it.

As regards Germany, the President and Minister for Foreign Affairs said they were alive to the dangers of present economic manoeuvres and their propaganda effect. So far as active counter-measures were concerned the Minister for Foreign Affairs referred to military roads, aerodromes and supply bases which the Turks were constructing with our assistance.

As regards Russia the President reaffirmed satisfaction with Anglo-Soviet treaty and friendliest intentions towards Russia, but took the familiar line that there was no initiative which Turkey could take to improve Turco-Russian relations. At our instance however, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has agreed to communicate to Soviet Government assurances of Turkey's friendly feelings.

Copy to War Cabinet,
War Advisory Council
Defence.
E.A.

23/6/42.

TURKEY

Extract from HC London D 304 5/22/6/42

Germany
In connection with German economic and political dis-
(in telegram 105); the Turkish Ambassador recently communicated
to us assurances of Turkey's steadfastness in her role as a
rampart against German penetration and of her good intentions
towards Russia. We have expressed our satisfaction at these
assurances and disclaimed any suspicion of Turkish loyalty.
H. M. Ambassador at Ankara has been instructed however in his
forthcoming audience to warn the President against present
German manoeuvres and to imply that we should welcome assurance
that Turkish Government are on their guard and are taking
active measures against them.

Copy to - War Cabinet.
War Advisory Council,
Defence
External Affairs.

22nd June, 1942.

2

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET



NW/HPL

DECYPHER FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

I.23972.

CE 12

DATED 19th June, 1942.

3-25

RECD - 20th June, 1942.

Unnumbered.

My telegram of 16th June, D.303. Following is
repetition of mutilated portion. Turkish Govt. rejected
suggesting that Clodius should visit Angora. In response
to warning against possible German trap concealed under this
agreement, Secretary General protested that Turkey had
her eyes open and would resist any German pressure, including
any demand for transit of war material.

Copy to Defence.
External Affairs.
20th June, 1942.

CABLEGRAM.

TH/TMc.

I.24101/23972

Co 104/203

Dated - 18th June, 1942.

9.50 p.m.

Recd. - 20th June, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM:

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

SECRET

D. No.303. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

Turkey.

My telegram 5th June, D. No.280.

Secretary General informs His Majesty's Ambassador that without settlement of financial arrangements, agreement has been reached with regard to tanks and anti-aircraft guns; 170 tanks are to be delivered by October.

Turkish Government rejected the suggestion that Clodius should visit Angora. In response to warning against possible German trap concealed under this agreement, Secretary General protested that Turkey had her eyes open and would resist any German pressure, including any demand for transit of war material.

Copy - War Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

21/6/42.

EXTRACT FROM

SEC. STATE

1299
16.6.42

TURKEY

Minister for Foreign Affairs has assured H.M. Ambassador that, if Germans ask for Turkish chrome in return for war material now under discussion at Berlin, (my telegram 5th. June S.280 paragraph 1), he will refuse.



CABLEGRAM. I.33693

IB/HB

CE 130

Sent 11th June, 1942.

2.10 p.m.

Received 11th June, 1942.

DECIPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D.No.293. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

Begins :-

EGYPT :

1. My telegram of 3rd June D. No.277.

Imprudent behaviour of Nahas to Makram, present truculent mood of former and unscrupulous manoeuvres on the part of his wife, have given rise to unfavourable rumours and doubts as to whether Ward are capable of maintaining the administration.

Shortage of sugar and wheat continues though it is hoped that improvement will result from recent establishment of joint Anglo Egyptian Supply Committee.

2. Egyptian Government have decided to recognise Free French Delegation in Egypt as representing the interests of local Free Frenchmen, but are making it clear that this does not involve recognition of the National Committee as a Government.

NORTH AFRICA :

3. Although recent Italian clamour has somewhat abated, French in Tunisia are reported to be preparing for Italian invasion by removing war material and other stocks to Algeria and restricting movement of individuals.

TURKEY :

4. Turkish Government are bound to provide us with total Turkish output of chrome during 1942. Of the 1943 output, under Clodius agreement of last autumn, Turkey is obliged to supply to Germany 90,000 tons of chrome in return for delivery of war material to Turkey. If such exchanges materialise, surplus of chrome available for us will be small. His Majesty's Ambassador has been instructed to approach Turkish Government with a view to concluding contracts designed to ensure that we shall receive in 1943 as much high grade ore as possible, plus any ore which Turks may be entitled to withhold from Germany in the event of the latter failing to carry out her part of Clodius agreement. We are asking United States Government to support our representations.

Copy to War Cabinet,
War Advisory Council,
Defence,
External Affairs.

12/6/42

CABLEGRAM.

NHW/SMCM.

I. 23030.

CE 132/257.

Sent on 13th June, 1942.

4.5. a.m.

Received 14th June, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM -

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

CIRCULAR D.295. SECRET. Following for the
Prime Minister.

FRENCH MOROCCO.

1. United States Representative at Tangier just returned from French Morocco, reports increase in pro-Ally feeling. French, however, nervous of possible Allied invasion and Nogues has said that while favourable to United States, he would resist any attack. He was working closely with Vichy, appeared confident of his own position, and declared accession of Laval had brought no change in French Morocco. He was doing his best to thwart the German attempt to establish Consulate at Fe.

TURKEY.

2. My telegram 5th June D.280 His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora regards the danger as potential rather than actual. In his opinion, Turkey will not willingly face it. While they are neither leaning towards Germany nor believe in German victory, they would in present circumstances disregard appeal to the Anglo-Turkish Treaty on grounds of sentiment or principle and may yet doubt Allied ability to achieve.

(passage mutilated in transmission)

In case war should end in compromise they desire to stand help with both parties; in the meantime they are willing to receive benefits from anyone and trust to their own cunning to escape embarrassing obligations in return.

War Cabinet
War Advisory Council.
Defence.
E. A.

14.6.42.

DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

PJC:ML

CABLEGRAM.

I.22022.

Via CE 100.

DECYPHER FROM :

DATED : 5th June, 1942.

10.50 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

RECEIVED : 6th June, 1942.

Circular D. 280.

S E C R E T.

Following for the Prime Minister -

TURKEY.

Summary Turkey
My telegram 26th May, D. 268. Secretary General informed His Majesty's Ambassador that Hitler received Turkish Delegation personally with ceremony and protestations of friendship for Turkey. He said he has studied the Turkish requirements and had ordered that everything possible should be done to satisfy them. Some could be supplied at once others later. Since his only ambition was to see Turkey capable of self defence against any aggression he wished to supply the most modern and efficacious weapons. Even if Turkey asked for weapons which in his view did not come up to the standard he would refuse to provide them.

2. Above confirms accumulating evidence that Germans are making concentrated industrial and political drive against our position in Turkey. In addition to manoeuvres reported in my telegrams 24th May, D. 264, 26th May, D. 268 and 28th May D. 270 forthcoming re-opening of railway communications between Turkey and Bulgaria will make possible resumption of Turkish German trade which under pressure from Turkish trading community Turkish Government may feel obliged to promote in order to increase volume of goods in Turkey and thereby lower internal prices. Moreover recent legislation affecting exports and imports will help German and may harm British interests. While we are considering counter measures we are in the meantime taking the line with Turkish Government that they as our Allies and particularly in view of our efforts to supply Turkey should resist these German manoeuvres restrict their relations with Germany to a minimum and adopt attitude not of neutrality but at least of non belligerency in our favour.

Copy sent to War Cabinet,
War Advisory Council,
Defence
E.A.

7/6/42

Extract from

Sec State
D.270
28.5.42



TURKEY

*Germany
Turkey*

In response to German invitation, Turkish Government have decided to send small Press Mission to Germany to repay visit of German Mission to Turkey last November.

File

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.



I. 20504
CE 53/105.
Dated 26th May, 1942.
9-50 p.m.
Received 27th May, 1942.

MI/PMO

DECEIVED FROM-
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

D. No. 268. SECRET.

Following for Prime Minister.

Far East. 1. Governor of Portuguese Timor recently reported that fighting had ceased in Dutch Timor, but was continuing sporadically in the interior of Portuguese Territory. Japanese had not interfered in local administration, but were intriguing with natives. Though Portuguese were still trying to extract assurances regarding Japanese withdrawal, the Japanese maintained evasive attitude.

Persia. 2. Persian Government have recognised the Czechoslovak Government and Free French National Committee.

Germany
Turkey
Turkey. My telegram May 24th, D.No.264. The German Ambassador recently informed the Turkish Government that out of the 150 million Mark credit agreed between Germany and Turkey before the War, the German Government were willing to supply 100 million Marks worth of War material. The Turkish Government replied that they would be prepared to receive Tanks, Aeroplanes, Anti-tank Guns, Anti-aircraft Guns and certain heavy Infantry Artillery with Munitions.

Notes have been exchanged confirming the German offer (now reduced to 80 million Marks worth of above War material) and Turkish Delegation left for Berlin on 26th May. Secretary-General has assured His Majesty's Ambassador that he will do his best to minimise publicity in Turkey and Germany.

Copy to War Cabinet
War Advisory Council
Defence
E. A.

27/5/42.

CABLEGRAM.



I. 20534.

CE 53/105.

Dated 26th May, 1942.

9-50 p.m.

Received 27th May, 1942.

HH/PMO

DECIPIER FROM-
Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

D. No. 268. SECRET.

Following for Prime Minister.

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Persia
7.P. Persia. 2. Persian Government have recognised the Czechoslovak Government and Free French National Committee.

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Copy to War Cabinet
War Advisory Council
Defence
E. A.

27/5/42.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I.2049

Ce 4 W 16

NHW.DH

DATED: 24th May, 1942

1355

RECD: 25th May, 1942

DECYPHER FROM:

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

D.264. Following for the Prime Minister. Secret

BULGARIA.

1. According to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, decision has been taken to nazify Bulgaria completely under King Boris and to institute severe measures against Communists.

TURKEY.

*Germany
Turkey*

2. In recent months, the German Ambassador has held out various specious but vague offers of war material to the Turkish Government including tanks for one division by June 18th. Turkish Government have treated these gestures with reserve and Minister for Foreign Affairs doubts their sincerity. Germans have also been bidding for contracts to provide Turkey with industrial and technical requirements including German personnel. We are trying to dissuade the Turkish Government from accepting such offers which represent direct challenge to our position in Turkey.

Copy - WAR CABINET
WAR ADVISORY COUNCIL
DEFENCE
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

25/5/42

12.5.1946
Turkey. 2. My telegram of 15th March, No.D.146,
in connection with the Angora bomb outrage. Turkish Authorities
brought to trial 4 persons including 2 Soviet citizens attached
to the Soviet Trade Delegation at Istanbul. The Turkish Govern-
ment, while showing somewhat tiresome rigidity in regard to
certain Soviet requests, have maintained an attitude of correct
impartiality and Turkish press has observed official instructions
to report the proceedings objectively. The Soviet Government,
however, have issued sharp communique questioning impartiality
of Turkish Courts and the Soviet press has followed suit. The
Turkish Government are concerned at Soviet attitude and chronic
anti-Russian feeling is reported to be breaking out among
Turkish public. We are urging moderation on both parties.



F

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM. **MOST SECRET**

PJC/JT

DECYPTER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
LONDON.

CE 38
DATED 13th April, 1942.
7.30 p.m.
RECEIVED 14th April, 1942.

CIRCULAR D.203.

MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

Minister for Foreign Affairs informs His Majesty's Ambassador that on his return from Germany, the German Ambassador endeavoured to reassure him about Bulgarian intentions towards Turkey; he also let it be understood that there was now no question of Germany pressing Bulgaria to go to war with Russia. The German Ambassador showed anxiety for understanding between the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments which might accelerate completion of repairs to the railway between Turkish frontier and Sviengrad. He professed that German Government were taking steps to meet Turkish complaints about German failure to deliver raw material provided for in the German-Turkish Agreement of September 1941, but argued that it could not be forwarded before completion of the above railway line. Berlin was prepared to discuss other material for which Turkish Government had asked and as Germany could offer considerable quantities of suitable captured supplies, Ambassador suggested that the Turkish Government should send a commission to Germany. Minister for Foreign Affairs says that Turkish Government intend to discover whether the German Ambassador is talking business or merely making vague promises.

Copy - War Cabinet
War Advisory Council
Defence
External Affairs

14.4.42



TURKEY

September 29, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL

SECTION 1.

[R 8727/1934/44]

Copy No. 063

Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen to Mr. Eden.--(Received September 29.)

(No. 200.)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and, with reference to his telegrams No. 1514 of the 19th June and No. 1570 of the 26th June, has the honour to state that by a law, No. 4072, of the 25th June, the Grand National Assembly ratified the Turco-German Treaty of Friendship signed at Angora on the 18th June. Copies of the *Official Gazette* containing the Turkish text⁽¹⁾ of the treaty is enclosed herewith, together with an English translation of the text.

2. The acts of ratification of the treaty were exchanged in Berlin on the 5th July.

Angora, July 9, 1941.

Enclosure.

Translation from Turkish Official Gazette No. 4849 of July 2, 1941.

Law regarding the ratification of the Treaty signed between the Turkish Republic and the German Reich on June 18, 1941.

Law No. 4072, dated June 28 and voted on June 25, 1941.

Article 1.—The treaty signed between the Turkish Republic and the German Reich on the 18th June, 1941, has been ratified.

Art. 2.—This law is valid as from the day of its publication.

Art. 3.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs is charged with the application of the provisions of this law.

The Turkish Republic and the German Reich, desiring to place their relations on a basis of reciprocal confidence and sincere friendship and subject to the reservation of their existing engagements, have decided to conclude a treaty and have appointed for this purpose the following plenipotentiaries:—

The President of the Turkish Republic:

Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Deputy for Izmir and Minister for Foreign Affairs;
and

The Chancellor of the German Reich:

His Excellency Franz von Papen, German Ambassador in Angora.

These plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers found in good and due form, have decided upon the following provisions:—

ARTICLE 1.

The Turkish Republic and the German Reich undertake to respect each other's territorial inviolability and integrity and to abstain from any kind of direct or indirect action against each other.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

[22—59]

ARTICLE 2.

The Turkish Republic and the German Reich undertake in future to enter into friendly contact on all questions affecting their common interests in order to reach an understanding for their solution.

ARTICLE 3.

This treaty, which will enter into force on the day of its signature, is valid for ten years. The high contracting parties will reach agreement during its validity as to the extension of the treaty.

This treaty will be ratified and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible.

Done in duplicate, in the Turkish and German languages, both texts having equal validity.

Ş. SARAÇOĞLU.

FRANZ VON PAPEN.

Angora, June 18, 1941.

TURKEY

September 29, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[R 8727/1934/44]

Copy No. 070

Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen to Mr. Eden.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 200.)

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Ş. SARAÇOĞLU.

FRANZ VON PAPEN.

Angora, June 18, 1941.

Lusina. Turkey

*Extract from
S.S.*

D36

24-1-42



TURKEY.

Lusina. Turkey
2. My Circular D.729 of 8th December. His Majesty's Ambassador learns that the Soviet Government are allowing Turkish Government all of the 25,000 tons of Soviet petrol already landed at Istanbul instead of 15,000 tons as originally intended.

12

Summary - Turkey
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.



DECRYPTED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICES, LONDON.

No. 781

Date Sent: 8.34 p.m. - 15/12/41
Date Recd: 16th December, 1941.

SECRET

TURKEY.

See Turkey Foreign Policy
My telegram November 4th. Turkish opinion on the whole has stiffened in the last few weeks but there have been periods of considerable anxiety at Angora, e.g. nerve-centres of Turkey have been (a) the series of spying incidents on the Soviet frontier, (b) rumours as to Kurdish activities, e.g. that Kurds and Armenians are planning some form of republic and (c) disposal of Chauvinistic Independents in Bulgarian Parliament by War Minister and others (which Turkey followed up by ban on sailings from Istanbul to Bulgarian ports).

German reverses in Russia have drawn attention to the possibility of early diversion of German troops to Turkey, and Bulgaria's declaration of war on Great Britain and United States (though actually no formal communication has yet reached United Kingdom) has brought home more forcibly to the Turks the likelihood of this move.

Head of Southern Department this afternoon said he thought a German move against Turkey before Africa was now extremely probable. There had long been reports of German activities in Bulgaria, e.g. at Burgas. Nothing had come through recently to indicate the President's betrayal, purposely for a move in the immediate future; it would probably take a few weeks yet for Germany to move the necessary 5 or 6 divisions into Bulgaria, and they would therefore hardly be ready to act before the end of January. Their first aim would no doubt be to intimidate the Turks and obtain the right for sending troops through Anatolia. He thought the Turks would resist, but how far their army, good fighters though they were, could maintain resistance against Panzer divisions was another matter. Germans would certainly try to get control of Straits; they might stop short of trying to force their way through Anatolia during the winter but his guess was that they would make an attempt, in an effort to reach the oil wells.

Meanwhile Embassy reported at week-end more evidence of German efforts to increase their influence by commercial penetration based on recent trade agreement. In an endeavour to manoeuvre Turkey into a favourable frame of mind they are "promising" delivery of a very large amount of material (and actually supplying chemicals and dye products) and forming companies to implement the agreement. Infiltration of technicians, Gestapo agents and journalists continues, e.g. D.N.B. has now a staff of 15 in Istanbul.

Turkey has declared her neutrality in the war in the Pacific. Heggesson reports that there is anxiety over the effect of American belligerency on Lease-Lend supplies though the Turks/hopeful as the possibility of Far Eastern complications are

was /

file.

was present in President Roosevelt's mind when he made his recent announcement that the "defence of Turkey is vital to the defence of the United States."

The flow of supplies (described by Turkey as "only a trickle though a steady trickle") nevertheless greatly impeded.

Italy has been pressing for a political agreement but the Turks are apparently resisting this, though commercial negotiations continue.

STIRLING

Copy to:

P.M.

Min. R.A.

Defence Co-ord.

17/12/41.

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM



JW/PC.

DECYPHER FROM -

CE 130

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 12th December, 1941.
9-30 p.m.
RECEIVED 13th December, 1941.

Circular D.737.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. My Circular D.723 of 4th December, paragraph 1. H.M. Ambassador has impressed on the Turkish Government the importance of controlling the numbers of Germans infiltrated under trade missions etc. The Turkish Government while professing themselves alive to the position feel difficulty in taking action against such Germans unless detected in undesirable activities. As a counter to German infiltration we are pressing on with proposals for increasing the number of British technicians, instructors etc.

JAPAN.

2. Cuba has declared war on Japan. Ecuador has announced adherence to the obligations of the Pan American defence but has decided against declaration of war against Japan. The Argentine Government have frozen Japanese assets.

3. In the interests of Pan American defence the United States Government have proposed to the Pan American Union that consultative meeting of foreign ministers should be held at Rio in January.

Copy to War Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

14/12/41.

Referred

[Signature]
Secretary.

Germany - Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET
I. 26791
CS 108/251
SENT 4th December, 1941.
8.4 p.m.
RECD. 5th December, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM-
The Secretary of State
for Dominion Affairs,
L O N D O N.

Circular D. 723. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister:-

TURKEY. 1. While a German Trade Delegation at Istanbul has been doing useful propaganda, many German "tourists" have also been arriving in Turkey. The Turkish Government show little concern. His Majesty's Ambassador has been instructed to impress upon them the danger of such infiltration and the need for limiting the number of Germans.

FRENCH EMPIRE. 2. We are urging the United States Government to continue their relations with Vichy and supplies (except oil) to North Africa and any other contacts unostentatiously for the present. We are also suggesting that United States representatives in North Africa should receive specific guidance with a view to encouraging anti-collaborationist attitude among the important persons there.

THAILAND. 3. The United States Government are arranging immediate supply to Thailand of some lubricating oil in conjunction with the supply of aviation spirit.

Copy sent to - War Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

5.12.41

F

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

1. 22717

IMP 89/29

Date Sent - 3rd November, 1941.

10.20 p.m.

Date Received - 4th November, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM -

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
LONDON

Circular Telegram D. 667.

Secret.

Following for the Prime Minister.

Turkey.

The Secretary General informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora that Clodiusi had questioned him about Turkey's attitude before his departure. The Secretary General had made it clear that if Germany attacked or threatened even a corner of Turkey it would mean war at once and Turkey would look to Britain for support. If Britain attacked or demanded passage through Turkey in order to attack Germany, this equally meant war and Turkey would look to Germany for support.

Copy to - War Cabinet
Defence
External Affairs

file

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 204

CE 64/286

DATED 10th October
8-50 p.m.

RECEIVED 11th October, 1941.



DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D.613 SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. Conclusion of the German-Turkish Chrome Agreement has been announced with prominent reference to German-Turkish friendship. A German General is visiting Turkey under pretext of inspecting Military Attaches.

IRAN.

2. My Circular D.582 of 25th September, Ibrahim Kemal having failed, General Nuri has formed new Government.

JAPAN.

3. Japanese Government have suppressed circulation of foreign bulletins. Before advocating reprisals, His Majesty's Ambassador is inclined to await the effect of this decision. The Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs says that this will not harm the British cause, and that the German Ambassador has protested.

THAILAND.

4. The Japanese are reported to be pressing the Thai Government to buy Japanese aircraft. The Thai Government appears more anxious to secure British or American.

Copy to Full Cabinet.
Defence.
E.A.

12/10/41.

Germany - Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.



CE 21.
Sent on 29th September, 1941.
12.15. a.m.
Received 29th September, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

Circular D.587. SECRET. Following for
Prime Minister.

R U S S I A.

Molotov has informed His Majesty's Ambassador that Litvinof and Golikov will participate in the Moscow Conference. His Majesty's Ambassador had privately suggested Litvinof as more suitable interpreter than the usual Kremlin official.

T U R K E Y.

My Circular D.585. 27th September.

The Turkish Government state that the reaction of the German Delegation to Turkey's intimation regarding chrome has so far not been violent but they anticipate renewal of pressure when fresh instructions arrive from Berlin.

SECRET.

His Majesty's Commercial Counsellor has been asked by his Soviet colleague to help to exchange Turkish copper against Soviet petrol. The Turkish Minister of Commerce is consulting his colleagues. He complains that so far the Soviet commercial attache has shown inexplicable lack of frankness, and says that Turkey could exchange certain products needed by Russia such as mohair and live-stock, but there would be no exportable surplus possible if agreement with Germany was signed.

Full Cabinet.
Defence.
E. A.

29.9.41.

F

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.



DECYIPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON

I.10501
CE 53
DATED 27th September, 1941
9.40p.m.
RECEIVED 28th September, 1941

Circular telegram D.586. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. On 24th September the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed His Majesty's Ambassador that in the light of our representations, the Turkish Government had decided to aim at refusing Germany all chrome. They had informed the Germans accordingly and were awaiting their reaction. If the Germans were willing to reach agreement without chrome the Turkish Government would proceed with negotiations; otherwise the whole matter would have to be reconsidered by the Turkish Government. His Majesty's Ambassador thinks that the only danger now of the Turks agreeing to give chrome to the Germans is if Germany resorts to serious threat. The United States Government are supporting us at Ankara.

THAILAND.

2. There are indications that the Japanese are becoming increasingly unpopular in Thailand.

JAPAN

3. My circular D.571. The Anglo-Japanese mutual evacuation agreement was initialled at Tokyo on September 26th.

4. His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo reports increasing nervousness about the internal situation and the possibility of an extremist coup designed to get rid of the present Government and more moderate elements. There is evidence of German association with the extremists.

Copy sent to - Full Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

29.9.41

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I. 19159
CE 64/216
DATED 26th September, 1941.
10.40 p.m.
RECEIVED 27th September, 1941.



SECRET

CIRCULAR D.584.

Following for the Prime Minister.

My Circular D.582 of September 25th.

TURKEY.

1. His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora has been instructed to represent to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs (1) the extreme political importance we attach to the denial of chrome to Germany; (2) that since Turkey's obligations to us in this matter are clear, we feel entitled as allies of Turkey and in consideration of our own efforts to help her to count upon the Turkish Government to honour their obligations to the full. On September 23rd the Military Attache had inconclusive conversation with the Deputy Chief of General Staff who took the line that Turkey still felt far from strong and must stave off any German action directed against her but would never permit action which could really injure us.

PERSIA.

2. Soviet interference in the occupied area is reported to be having a prejudicial affect on civil administration, particularly communications by rail, road, and telegraph, security, supply of foodstuffs, and other goods to the poorer parts of Persia including those occupied by us, collection of taxes etc. The Persian Police have been disarmed and the situation at Tabriz is reported delicate.

3. My Circular D.574, paragraph 3.

We have represented to the Soviet Ambassador the inadvisability of the Soviet Government encouraging a movement for autonomy in Azerbaijan. The Soviet Ambassador has undertaken to communicate our concern to his Government.

Copy - Full Cabinet
Defence
External Affairs

28.9.41

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.

Thelma
Secretary

CABLEGRAM.

I.19033.

24 Cable 145/69.

DATED - 25th September, 1941.

7.50 p.m.

RECEIVED - 26th September, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D.582.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

IRAQ.

1. The Regent has informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad that the Prime Minister has submitted his resignation but will carry on to the end of this month. The Regent stated that he would call on Ibrahim Kemal to form a Cabinet. The latter is thought to be the best choice for us though owing to personal unpopularity he may have difficulty in collecting a Cabinet.

TURKEY.

2. My Circular D.580 of 24th September. His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora in full discussion on chrome reminded the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs of the latter's previous assurances and emphasized the adverse effect here and in the United States if the Turks yielded.

His Majesty's Ambassador pointed out that the choice before Turkey seemed to be between either allowing chrome to go to Germany for the sake of German supplies or continuing to receive United States Supplies, the arrival of which we have done everything possible to ensure. The Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that Turkey had reserved her reply to the German request and promised to re-examine the matter.

SPAIN.

3. His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid who is returning to London for two or three weeks has discussed the war situation with Franco in the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Franco denied His Majesty's Ambassador's contention that Hitler had failed in his strategic objectives and drew the usual conclusion that the only result of continuing the war would be useless suffering and anarchy in Europe.

FINLAND.

4. The Norwegian Government invited our participation in a message which they intended to send to the Finnish Government through the Norwegian Minister in Helsingfors. We have sent a message of warning to the Finns that if they persist in invading Russian Territory, we shall be forced to treat Finland as an open enemy, both now and at Peace.

The United States Government have urged the Finns to consider the consequences for Scandinavia if they continue the war in alliance with the power which has overrun Norway and suggest that the Finnish Government should act so that future collaboration between Scandinavian States may be possible. The Finnish Government have promised the Norwegian Minister a reply.

26.9.1941.

Copy to - Full Cabinet.
Defence.
E.A.



CABLEGRAM.

I.13709

CE 58/151

Sent 24th September, 1941.

9.46

Received 25th September, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D.580. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

PERSIA :

1. His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran considers that the new Government formed on 31st September is good on the whole and the Minister for Foreign Affairs has promised that any Minister to whom we object will be changed.

The proposed reforms include :-

(1) Close collaboration with those Governments whose interests are bound up with those of Persia subject to Persian interests.

(2) Legal reforms.

(3) Economic and financial reforms including reduction of taxation and suppression of unnecessary monopolies.

(4) Participation of the people in local administration.

The new Shah has made a good impression so far.

SPAIN :

2. In view of our willingness to allow Spain to use sterling balance for purchase of goods here, the Minister for Commerce has agreed to sanction export licences for onions and has promised us as far as possible a fair deal in obtaining our share of export surplus of oranges.

TURKEY :

3. My Circular D.567 of 31st September. The Turkish Ambassador has been informed that we regard the denial of chrome to the Germans as the touch-stone of Turkey's good faith towards Anglo-Turkish alliance and has promised to do his utmost to persuade the Turkish Government not to yield.

Copy to Full Cabinet,
Defence Co-ord.,
E.A.

25/9/41

SECRET

F

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

DECRYPTER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON

I.16668
Cable 104/40
DATED 2nd September, 1941
9p.m.
RECEIVED 3rd September, 1941

Circular D.531.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

My telegram 1st September D.530. In response to our representations the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated that he will refuse the German proposal that the Turkish Government should protect Germans in Persia.

THE SECRETARY,
----- DEPT. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Copy sent to - Full Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

3.9.41

REFERRED.

[Signature]
SECRETARY.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

I. 16558

Imp 121/41

CABLEGRAM.

Sent: 1st September, 1941

8/43 p.m.

Recd: 2nd September, 1941

DECIPHER FROM:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

SECRET.

Circular D. 530. Following for Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

(1) The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has enquired our views on the request from the German Government that the Turkish Government protect German interests in occupied areas of Persia, and allow Germans into the Turkish Embassy. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has agreed in principle. We are replying that we see the strongest objections. His Majesty's Ambassador has also been instructed to urge the Turkish Government to insist on repatriation of any Germans reaching Turkey from Persia.

INDO CHINA.

(2) My Circular D 501 17th August. The Government of Indo China have sent the United States Consul signed contract for the supply of rubber on terms similar to previous contracts with the United States. The Governor-General is reported to have secured the assent of Vichy and Tokyo. United States Consul now awaits assent of his Government.

Copy - FULL CABINET.
DEFENCE
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

2/9/41

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

I. 16215.

Cable 60/42.
Sent on 28th August, 1941.
4.20. P.M.
Received 29th August, 1941.

DELYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

Circular D.521. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

T U R K E Y.

Germany Turkey
My Circular D.520 of 25th August paragraph 2.
It appears that Ribbentrop asked the Turkish Ambassador inter alia whether Germany could send help to Persia through Turkey if desired. The Turkish Ambassador evaded reply. The deputy Chief of Turkish Staff states that Turkey would do nothing to help Germany.

S P A I N.

Spain 1941
2. The United States Government have decided for the present not to impose economic blockade on Spain but to continue economic relations; they have released four tanks for Spain held up in American ports.

S Y R I A.

Middle East
3. Publication of De Gaulle, Lyttleton letters of 7th August has increased confidence of Free French and their independence vis-à-vis ourselves, but has disappointed Syrians and Lebanese and tended to lower British popularity already prejudiced by our failure so far to restore normal economic conditions.

Full Cabinet.
Defence.
E.A.

29.8.41.

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

CABLEGRAM.

I.15965.



DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Imp 142/54 W 216

DATED 25th August, 1941.

2359.
RECEIVED 26th August, 1941.

Circular D. 520. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister:-

THAILAND.

On 22nd August, the Prime Minister spoke in strong anti Japanese terms to His Majesty's Ambassador but appeared still to fear Japan greatly. He said that Thailand was being over-run by Japanese spies, of whom some had been arrested and would be deported. On the other hand he has appointed two members of his cabinet, one pro-German, the other pro-Japanese, to assist him as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

TURKEY.

2. Reported increase in German personnel on Bulgarian aerodromes and reported despatch of German and Italian divisions to Bulgaria, together with Ribbentrop's recent language to the Turkish Ambassador and indirect German soundings at Angora, suggest that the Germans may shortly develop pressure on Turkey.

Copy to Full Cabinet.

Defence.

E.A.

26/8/41.

Germany-Turkey
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

Date sent 23rd July 1941

8.5

Received 24th July



No. 573. MOST SECRET.

Turkey. My telegram 525.

Following based on talk with Bowker, Acting Head of the Southern Department this evening :

(1) Relations with United Kingdom. As yet no marked reactions by the Turks to Allied occupation of Syria, except their request to deal in future on Syrian questions with the British, and not the Free French (Tel. No. 526). United Kingdom Government will probably reply that the Turks should for the present deal with military authorities (i.e. General Wilson), basing this attitude on the existence of martial law in Syria.

Despite their recent treaty with the Germans the Turks have performed many services for the British of a highly un-neutral character, such as allowing British troops from Greece and Crete to pass through Turkish territory; their attitude over "St. Didier" (Tel. 515); the handing over to the British, unopened, of papers found in German and Italian aircraft which had made forced landings in Turkey and allowing the British to see the aircraft equipment; the holding up of telegrams sent to German and Italian Consuls.

(You will appreciate the extra secrecy of the preceding paragraph).

Question of chrome is of great importance as United States are making their attitude in regard to supplies to Turkey under Lease Lend Act dependent on whether or not the Turks furnish chrome to Germany. (Chrome at present supplied by the Turks to the United Kingdom is all passed on to the United States).

Turks have twice assured the United Kingdom that they will not send chrome to Germany. Present Anglo-Turkish agreement re chrome expires in January 1942 and the United Kingdom have given notice of the desire to renew.

Chief difficulty for United Kingdom at present is getting chrome out of Turkey as chrome ports in the south-west of Turkey cannot be used because of their proximity to Rhodes etc.

(2) Germany. There does not appear to be intensive German pressure at the moment. There are reports of troop concentrations in Bulgaria but the Turks are not disturbed by these, or affecting not to be, attributing them to "war of nerves."

Press reports state that Clodius, "the German Leith Ross" is undertaking a mission to Angora.

(3) U.S.S.R. United Kingdom are still trying to improve Turkish-Russian relations. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has suggested to Maisky, also to Cripps, that Russia should give Turkey assurances, that they will respect Turkish integrity.

(4) Italy. So far as is known there have been no further Italian overtures to Turkey. STIRLING

Copy to - War Cabinet
Defence Co-ordination. 24.7.41.

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I.12785
CE 58/163
DATED 18th July, 1941.
9.10 p.m.
RECEIVED 19th July, 1941.



CIRCULAR M.162.

MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. There are indications that the Turkish Government, while remaining unsympathetic towards Russia, are less reluctant to recognize the danger of German victory over her.
2. His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora has been instructed unless he sees objection to suggest informally to the Turkish authorities that they should make difficulties for Germans asking for transit visas to Iran.

Copy - Full Cabinet
Defence
External Affairs.

19.7.41

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.

[Signature]
Secretary.

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I.12785
CE 58/163
DATED 18th July, 1941.
9.10 p.m.
RECEIVED 19th July, 1941.

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Copy - Full Cabinet
Defence
External Affairs.

19.7.41

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.

DEPARTMENT FROM
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICERS
LONDON.

Date sent 14th July, 1941
14.14 p.m.
Received 15th July, 1941

No. 325.

SECRET.

Turkey

Following summary based on talk with Southern
Department this evening.

(For the first reactions of Turkey to Russian-
German war see High Commissioner's telegram No. 462 para. 2)

It is now clear that the war has already profoundly
affected the Turkish outlook in several directions. e.g.,
awakened all old suspicions of Turkey's hereditary enemy, a
development which Hitler exploited by alleging in his pro-
clamation that Molotov when in Berlin last November had asked
Germany's consent for a Russian naval base in the Bosphorus.

Furthermore, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs
in a speech to Parliament on June 26th claimed "universal
approval" for Turkey's treaty with Germany and paid a tribute
to Papan's "unforgettable services."

There was also a noticeable turn towards Germany
in the Turkish press, though during the last few days there have
been several articles expressing appreciation of Russian
resistance.

Similarly with Turkish wireless, some of the
broadcasts in Arabic for instance have been featuring about
90 per cent. German war news.

Turkish broadcasts in English remain one-sided

To sum up, while Turkey's attitude towards the
west and Mediterranean probably remains unchanged she now tends
to wish for something like a draw in East Europe.

There is some evidence that the Turks are turning
their attention to the Caucasus area, e.g., press reports of
today which show they have not forgotten that before its cessation
to Georgia in 1921 Batoum was a Turkish port.

German treaty is certainly leading to closer
commercial ties. Still uncertain whether Germany will succeed
in getting any Turkish chrome. Some of Turkey's 1941 output
is under contract here and substantial stocks already bought are
in Turkey awaiting shipment which is not at present available.
Part of Axis deficiency in chrome has been made good by the
Balkan conquests and if Germany could acquire the available
supplies of good Turkish metallurgical grades she would have
enough to cover all necessary European requirements.

There was a report recently that negotiations for
a further German-Turkish Trade Treaty were in progress and
Ruggessou was asked if this were true but he had not yet replied.

United.

CABLEGRAM.

1792
Page 2.

United Kingdom policy towards supplies to Turkey
was summarized in D.O. telegram D.386.

Turkish attitude has been satisfactory in at
least two directions :

- (a) they refused Mersin's numerous requests and
his mission was a general failure.
- (b) they have continued to turn a deaf ear to
Italian overtures for a treaty similar to that
of Germany.

STIRLING.

Copies to - War Cabinet
Defence Co-ordination
Capt. Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick. 10.7.41

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

DECRYPTER

I.11554

W.380 via Imp. 253 CE 64

From Secretary of State for
Dominion Affairs, London.

Dated 4th July, 1941

3 p.m.
Received 5th July, 1941.

CIRCULAR M.134.

SECRET

Following for Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. My Circular M.132 of 23rd June. On 1st July in response to further representations from H.M. Ambassador, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs repeated emphatically that on no account would Turkey demobilise or allow passage of troops or munitions. He made it clear, however, that it would be difficult to give official assurances of this kind. The Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed approval of our help for Russia against Germany and discounted the possibility of Russian victory.

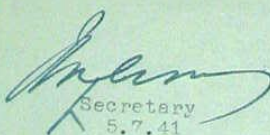
2. His Majesty's Ambassador considers that the prevailing public re-action to the German-Turkish Agreement is relief at the temporary elimination of the danger into which the Anglo-Turkish Treaty appeared to be bringing Turkey; that however the fighting services are almost entirely opposed to it and many Turks place little faith in it or in any friendship with Germany and appreciate who are their real friends. The Secretary-General informed His Majesty's Ambassador on 30th June that the Germans had exercised no further pressure but were pursuing commercial treaty. Nevertheless His Majesty's Ambassador reports evidence of German efforts to influence the press and German propaganda is active.

Copy sent to Full Cabinet
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.

5.7.41

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.


Secretary
5.7.41

Germany - Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 11314,
GE 70/206.

Sent on 1st July, 1941.

12.40 a.m.

Received 1st July, 1941.

DECRYPTER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular M.129.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister:-

TURKEY.

My telegram M.122 of 23rd June.

Although the Minister for Foreign Affairs has given vague indications to the contrary, His Majesty's Ambassador considers it likely that there are subsidiary agreements to the German-Turkish Pact covering press and publicity, trade, and possibly territorial concessions to Turkey.

War Cabinet, & Economic Committee.
Defence Co-ord.
E. A.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

2.7.41.

Referred.

[Signature]
Secretary.

CABLEGRAM. I.11319

CRYPTIC FROM -
 SECRETARY OF STATE
 FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON

CE 21
 DATED 1st July, 1941
 12.40p.m.
 RECEIVED 2nd July, 1941

Circular D.387.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

SWEDEN.

My Circular D.380 of 27th June.

1. The Swedish Government are reported to have agreed to the German requests (1) that one German non-military aircraft should be allowed to fly as courier once per day by a specified route from Trondhjem to Rovikemi landing in Sweden; (2) that Sweden should mine their territorial waters South of Oland Islands and strengthen mine fields in the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia; (3) that Sweden should patrol their territorial waters.

They are reported to have refused (1) request that they should close the passage through their minefields to Russian warships and forbid passage of Russian surface warships through their territorial waters; (2) to give undertaking to release German military aircraft which might make forced landings in Sweden. The Swedes will continue to deliver war material to Finland and appear to be contemplating despatch of foodstuffs also.

TURKEY.

2. While the Turkish Government's public comments on the German-Turkish pact have been gushing, their references to the safeguarding of Anglo-Turkish treaty have, despite continued representations from H.M.Ambassador been meagre and given grudgingly. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has been in difficult mood; he has been seeking to justify the German-Turkish pact by claiming that it releases Germany to attack Russia, and has even shown offence at our failure to applaud Turkish diplomacy for this stroke.

He has also expressed resentment at passage in the Prime Minister's speech which he interprets to mean that we are prepared to reward Russia at Turkey's expense. H.M.Ambassador has been instructed to state that this interpretation is wholly unjustified and to assure the Minister for Foreign Affairs that we intend scrupulously to respect the territorial integrity of Turkey. The Minister for Foreign Affairs continues to express concern at our activity in Syria; H.M.Ambassador attributes this partly to Turkish apprehension lest German pressure is added to the French request for passage of men and material to Syria, which the Turkish Government have so far refused.

1.

/SPAIN.

CABLEGRAM.

2.

I.11319

SPAIN

3. Falangists are recruiting volunteers to fight against Russia.

4. On 28th June, H.M. Ambassador at Madrid represented to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that successful implementation of our economic assistance to Spain must depend on (1) mutual co-operation and more Spanish good-will; and (2) United States co-operation. H.M. Ambassador drew attention to the Spanish delays and obstacles, to the anti-British press campaign and manifestations, and to Spanish failure to take up United States offers. He asked Franco whether he wished economic plan to succeed. Franco replied in the affirmative, expressing regret at the anti-British demonstration, (my circular D.377 of 26th June.) and attributed difficulties in economic negotiations to United States failure to understand Spain, and in particular, to the personal attitude of the United States Ambassador. He however agreed to consider Sir Samuel Hoare's suggestion that he should examine economic proposals with the U.S. Ambassador in the presence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

BRAZIL

5. In deference to the United States view and with the object of improving our relations with Brazil, we have agreed to allow certain German war material for Brazil lying at Lisbon to proceed to Rio, via New York, in a United States ship.

Copy to - War Cabinet, Defence, E.A.
2.7.41 Economic Committee

For the Press - Turkey
Germany
FOR THE PRESS.

19/6/41

TURCO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

In a statement yesterday on the Turkish-German Agreement the Minister for External Affairs, Sir Frederick Stewart said :-

"The present agreement does not mean that Germany has gained an ally or a friend, nor need it mean that the democracies have lost one. The sympathy and understanding of British peoples are still with the Turks and we believe that their true interest and sympathies are still with us.

It is understood that during the negotiations the Turkish Government insisted on the inclusion of clauses safeguarding existing agreements. We have also reason to believe, that so far as lies in Turkey's power, the Turkish obligations under the Anglo-Turkish Treaty will be maintained and that the safeguarding clause in the present agreement will be included in any future understandings that may arise out of the agreement.

The Turkish Government has been subjected to continuous pressure from Germany for several months and, since the Balkan and Aegean campaigns, it will be readily recognised that the degree of Turkey's isolation from those with whom her true sympathies remain, has made it difficult to withstand that pressure. Nevertheless, it is plain that the Turkish Government has yielded much less than the Germans undoubtedly hoped. No agreement for economic concessions or for the right to despatch troops across Turkish territory has been concluded and there is no reason to suppose that Turkey is any less resolved to maintain her national independence and integrity.

Undoubtedly Germany will endeavour to go further and obtain fresh advantages from the new position now created, and the Turkish Government in order to retain complete independence, will have to fight a continuous defensive action on the diplomatic front.

There is every reason to believe that Turkey intends to remain loyal to the objectives behind the Anglo-Turkish Treaty. The Turkish Government kept the United Kingdom Government informed of the course of the negotiations, and there is clear evidence that the press, radio, and public opinion in Turkey still remains overwhelmingly on the side of Great Britain and her allies.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.

1575.

DECYPHER FROM
AUSTRALIAN LEGATION,
WASHINGTON.

Date sent 18th June, 1941.
11.44 p.m.
Received 19th June, 1941.

No. 448.

Repeated to London 64 and Tokyo 24.

SECRET.

I saw Sumner Welles today. Most important current matter is certain far-reaching demands that Sumner Welles states are credibly reported to have been made on Russia by Germany.

He states that these reported demands would virtually make Ukraine into a German protectorate and include demobilization of all Russian forces in Western Russia, substantial economic demands including control of Russian oil in Baku and transit facilities through Southern Russia for German forces. Russia replied by making counter-demands on Germany which were brushed aside. Sumner Welles states that there is active and substantial movement of German forces from Finland to Rumania and that the two most senior German military commanders are on the Eastern German frontier.

Sumner Welles personally believes that Russia will cave in and that some compromise arrangement will be arrived at under which Germany will get substantially what she really wants. He is not as confident as Foreign Office that war will result.

Strong personal representative here of Chiang Kai-shek believes that war will result.

Sumner Welles advised that Japan believes that war between Germany and Russia is imminent and that they are very flustered and confused in consequence.

If German-Russian war eventuates Sumner Welles believes it possible that Japan may declare war on Russia and if this comes about Japan will be obliged to forget about any southward adventure.

Sumner Welles believes that the breaking off of economic negotiations between Japan and N.E.I. is not unconnected with the German-Russian crisis.

Sumner Welles believes that Turkish-German non-aggression agreement is bad news in the present circumstances.

Sumner Welles states that the return to Japan of Japanese Ambassador at London arises out of acute disagreement between the latter and Matsuoka and that in short the Japanese Ambassador has been ordered home in disgrace and that he will not return to London.

Copy to - War Cabinet
Defence Co-ordination. 20.6.41.

F

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

**MOST
SECRET**

I. 10266

028/R

DI-CYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 18th June, 1941,
1.18 p.m.
RECEIVED 19th June, 1941.

Circular M.112. MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

My Circular M.111 of 17th June, 1941.

On 17th June in response to further representations from His Majesty's Ambassador regarding the proposed Turkish-German Agreement, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs repeated that Turkish obligations under the Treaty would be maintained and also assured His Majesty's Ambassador that the safeguarding clause in the present Turkish-German Agreement would equally be applicable to any future understanding which might arise out of the original treaty. His Majesty's Ambassador pointed out that Germany might try to secure reversal of the present pro-British attitude of the Turkish press, intercept supply of chrome, secure removal of many of our experts and advisers in Turkey, etc. In short she might try to turn the whole of Turkey's position to her advantage. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that this would not be admitted; these were domestic questions and he intended to retain control of them.

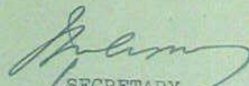
Later on, 17th June, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed His Majesty's Ambassador that the text of the Turkish-German Agreement having been approved by the German Government, had been initialed by himself and the German Ambassador. The Ambassador wanted immediate signature but the Minister for Foreign Affairs insisted that the Turkish Government and party must first be consulted. He would not readily sign before 10 p.m. on Wednesday 18th June. He had insisted with the German Ambassador that there should be no newspaper or broadcast announcement until after midnight on Wednesday 18th June. He asked us to observe the same conditions.

We are urging United States Government to support our representations at Angora to obtain simultaneous declarations by Turkish Government safeguarding Anglo-Turkish Treaty.

COPY TO FULL CABINET
THE SECRETARY, DEPT. OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. " DEPT. DEFENCE CO.
E.A.

19/6/1941

REFERRED.


SECRETARY.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

CABLEGRAM.

I.10244

Sent 17th June, 1941.

11.10 p.m.

Received 18th June, 1941.

TELETYPE FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

IMPORTANT. (Received through U.K. High Commissioner)

Circular Z.221. SECRET.

Newfoundland No.545. Southern Rhodesia No.320.
Following may be used for the guidance of the press.
Ministry of Information.

For some months considerable pressure has been put by Germany on Turkey to induce her to sign an agreement advantageous to Germany's schemes for eastward expansion and it is now probable that an agreement of limited scope specifically safeguarding contractual obligations with other countries (among which Anglo-Turkish Treaty is included by implication) will be signed shortly.

No mention of this fact should on any account be allowed to leak out until the agreement is announced, but when this occurs the press might bear the following points in mind :-

1. Germany undoubtedly hoped for an agreement of a more extensive character, involving economic concessions and including right to despatch troops through Turkey. Such an agreement has not been concluded. Although there is no reason to suppose that the attitude of Turkey regarding maintenance of her own independence and integrity is affected by the present agreement, the Germans may well try to use it as the thin edge of the wedge.

2. We have every reason for believing that Turkey intends to remain loyal to Anglo-Turkish Treaty. She has kept us informed of negotiations and has insisted on maintenance of her existing contractual obligations.

3. It is not improbable that one of the main objects of the agreement from the German point of view is to neutralise Turkey in the event of a German attack on the U.S.S.R. This point however should not be stressed, since to do so would only serve to embitter Turkish-Soviet relations.

4. Any criticism of or recriminations against Turkey should be avoided as being unjustified as well as impolitic. Turkey's ability to resist German pressure has been gravely weakened ever since the collapse of France, not only because this collapse carried with it the possibility of a German invasion of Syria but also because the Turks were expecting delivery of substantial

quantities .. /

of war material from the French. While we have done and shall do all we can to remedy this deficiency it is clear that our own ability to supply war material has been greatly reduced as a result of the situation in the Middle East following French collapse. Transport problems moreover have been acute during unrest in Iraq and Syria. With increasing United States help these conditions should improve.

5. Just as the British Empire in the present stage of the war is on the defensive in military sense, so Turkey is fighting an exceptional defensive action in the hope that localised retreat on diplomatic front will gain time and so enable her to preserve the essentials of her independence until she receives sufficient material aid from her friends to make successful stand.

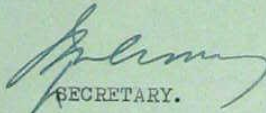
Copy to Full Cabinet,
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.,
Information,
Mr. Dawson.

18/6/41

TELEPRINT.

THE SECRETARY,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

REFERRED.


SECRETARY.

Germany Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET

I.10200

CE35

Sent 17th June, 1941.

9 p.m.

Received 18th June, 1941.

DECIPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular M.111.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister:-

TURKEY : (My telegram M.109 of 16th June Paragraph 2).

His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora has been instructed to press hard for public declaration that Anglo Turkish treaty is safeguarded under the terms of the proposed German-Turkish Agreement.

Copy to Full Cabinet,
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.

18/6/41

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

Ce 52/227

I.10154

DECYPHER FROM :
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Dated - 16th June, 1941.
10.08 p.m.
Received - 18th June, 1941.

Circular M.110. FOLLOWING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

T U R K E Y.

SECRET.

My telegram M.109 of 16th June. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora that it is not possible for the Turkish Government to go back now on the text agreed with the German Ambassador but if the Germans propose any alterations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will delay the matter as much as possible.

Full Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

18/6/41.

Germany-Turkey
FOR THE PRESS.

TURCO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

In a statement yesterday on the Turkish-German Agreement the Minister for External Affairs, Sir Frederick Stewart said :-

"The present agreement does not mean that Germany has gained an ally or a friend, nor need it mean that the Democracies have lost one. The sympathy and understanding of British peoples are still with the Turks and we believe that their true interest and sympathies are still with us.

It is understood that during the negotiations the Turkish Government insisted on the inclusion of clauses safeguarding existing agreements. We have also reason to believe, that so far as lies in Turkey's power, the Turkish obligations under the Anglo-Turkish Treaty will be maintained and that the safeguarding clause in the present agreement will be included in any future understandings that may arise out of the agreement.

The Turkish Government has been subjected to continuous pressure from Germany for several months and, since the Balkan and Aegean campaigns, it will be readily recognised that the degree of Turkey's isolation from those with whom her true sympathies remain, has made it difficult to withstand that pressure. Nevertheless, it is plain that the Turkish Government has yielded much less than the Germans undoubtedly hoped. No agreement for economic concessions or for the right to despatch troops across Turkish territory has been concluded and there is no reason to suppose that Turkey is any less resolved to maintain her national independence and integrity.

Undoubtedly Germany will endeavour to go further and obtain fresh advantages from the new position now created, and the Turkish Government in order to retain complete independence, will have to fight a continuous defensive action on the diplomatic front.

There is every reason to believe that Turkey intends to remain loyal to the objectives behind the Anglo-Turkish Treaty. The Turkish Government kept the United Kingdom Government informed of the course of the negotiations, and there is clear evidence that the press, radio, and public opinion in Turkey still remains overwhelmingly on the side of Great Britain and her allies.

19.6.41

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 10105

CE10

DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 16th June, 1941,
5.26 p.m.
RECEIVED 17th June, 1941.

Circular M.109.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

My Circular M.108 of 14th June.

TURKEY.

1. His Majesty's Ambassador was instructed to make further strong representations to the Turkish Government against concluding agreement particularly at this moment and His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington was instructed unless he saw objection, to inform the United States Government of the present situation with a view to enlisting their support to deter the Turkish Government from finally committing themselves.

2. Meanwhile having expressed apprehension that the German proposals created an opening for much wider Treaty, and having been informed that the duration of the present agreement would be for 5 to 10 years, His Majesty's Ambassador requested categorical assurances -

(a) that the safeguarding of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty should be absolutely watertight;

(b) that there should be no question of anything contrary to our interests such as demobilisation or passage of troops or war material.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary-General gave most definite verbal assurances in regard to (b), also in regard to (a), which must be interpreted in the light of the phrase "wider reservation of existing contractual engagements" which prefaces the draft proposals.

3. His Majesty's Ambassador considers the Turkish decision to conclude Treaty with the Germans primarily results from determination to avoid war which will continue to guide Turkish policy so long as it does not require sacrifices of essential interests and which is founded upon such factors as the present state of Turkish defences, our inability to supply war material, the uncertainty of the military situation and above all on Turkish desire to concentrate on Turkish affairs inside the Turkish border. He believes that we will continue to enjoy much goodwill and benefit from Turkish collaboration but that Turkey will be responsive to German pressure provided that this is not directed against her integrity and that by that success alone can restore our influence in Turkey.

(c as received).

COPY TO FULL CABINET
DEPT. DEFENCE CO.
" E.A.

17/6/1941

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

RECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I.10054
CE 51/134
DATED 15th June, 1941.
12.45 a.m.
RECEIVED 15th June, 1941.

CIRCULAR M.108.

SECRET.

SECRET

Following for the Prime Minister.

Turkey.

My Circular telegram M.107. Under urgent German pressure, the Turkish Government have agreed to draft proposals for agreement engaging Germany and Turkey

- (1) Mutually to respect territory and abstain from any action aimed at the other contracting party;
- (2) To make contact with each other on all questions touching their common interests.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Ambassador that he insisted on the inclusion of clauses safeguarding existing agreements and that the Germans agreed. When H.M. Ambassador urged delay in view of the present Soviet-German relations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said that despite Germany's threat to the U.S.S.R. he had seen no sign of Soviet approach to the Turkish Government: he indicated however that his negotiations with the German Ambassador might yet be drawn out.

Copy - Full Cabinet
Defence
External Affairs

15.6.41

Germany Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

CABLEGRAM

I. 3334

CE 31/454

Sent 13th June, 1941.

1937
Received 14th June, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

SECRET

M.107. SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister:-

TURKEY:

My telegram 105 of 8th June. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has indicated to His Majesty's Ambassador that conversations with the German Ambassador have not made further progress owing to his refusal to compromise Turkish loyalty to the Anglo-Turkish Treaty.

Copy to Full Cabinet, Defence, E.A.

TELEPRINT.

Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.

[Signature]
Secretary.

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

I.9530

CE 113/11

Sent on 8th June, 1941.

22.13.

Received 9th June, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

Circular M.105.

Most Secret and Personal. Following for the
Prime Minister:-

TURKEY.

1. My Circular M.104. On 6th June the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs informed His Majesty's Ambassador that nothing fresh had transpired and that he was waiting for the German Ambassador to make the next move; meanwhile in regard to reconstruction of bridges in Adrianople district, the Turkish Government had refused to sign documents mentioning the "Bulgarian frontier" since they suspected the German interpretation of this term. They had also refused to modify the existing Turkish prohibition on transport of troops and war material on the Turkish section of Sofia-Istanbul railway, but had agreed to the Germans imposing reciprocal prohibition.

U.S.S.R.

2. According to the Finnish Minister at Berlin, in Soviet-German negotiations there, the Soviet representative has agreed to all German economic demands and political questions are now probably under discussion.

Full Cabinet.
Defence.
E. A.

TELEPRINTED DEFENCE

No.1728 9/6/41

9.6.41.

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET

I. 9,517

DECRYPTED FROM

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

CE 29

DATED 5th June, 1941
2210

RECEIVED 6th June, 1941

CIRCULAR M.104. MOST SECRET

Following for the Prime Minister.

T U R K E Y

My telegram of 4th June, 102. On receiving message from the Secretary of State, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs told His Majesty's Ambassador that he understood our dislike of his conversations with the Germans, was drawing them out as long as possible, and would communicate with the Soviet Government direct or through us when they assumed definite form. He did not doubt the ultimate result of the war, but Turkey wished to remain "debout" till then.

COPY TO - FULL CABINET
DEFENCE CO.
E.A.
6.6.41.

TELEPRINT

THE SECRETARY,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
REFERRED.

[Signature]
SECRETARY

F

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 5th June, 1941
6.9 p.m.

RECEIVED 5th June, 1941

SECRET

CIRCULAR 2,200. (Received through United Kingdom High Commission)

(To Dublin for information only) Newfoundland 500. Southern Rhodesia 275.

Following may be useful for the guidance of the press.

Source - Ministry of Information.

1. Recent news from Iraq reinforces the impression that Raschid Ali episode was the work of a small military clique backed by Germany and was regarded with disfavour by the mass of the Iraqi tribes. The recent rioting in Bagdad was an outburst of hooliganism directed against the Jewish elements in the city. It is significant that the (? stable) Iraqi Government restored order by means of two Iraq battalions, which they ordered in from Kirkuk.

2. In Syria, there is a growing movement in favour of de Gaulle as the saviour of the country from the results of Barlan's traitorous policy. The press should be encouraged to play this up.

3. It seems probable that Germany is at the moment concentrating her attention on Turkey and that Von Papen in Ankara is trying to give the impression that U.S.S.R. is abetting the encirclement of Turkey. The German calculation appears to be that if this manoeuvre succeeds, the way would then be open to suggest to Moscow that Turkey was joining the Axis and that if the U.S.S.R. failed to do likewise, German troops would have a free passage through Turkey to the Baku oil wells.

4. The persistent rumours that Axis agreement with Turkey is imminent should be treated with great reserve. Stories are appearing to the effect that Turkey is being offered territorial bribes (such as Mitylene Samos and the northern section of the Iraq oilfield) to induce her to enter into commercial negotiations which would lead to the granting of transit facilities for German troops and equipment en route for Syria. There are strong indications that such stories emanate from Von Papen and his entourage. President Inonu remains faithful to his initial view that a German victory would entail the end of Turkish independence. The Turkish attitude is bound to be greatly influenced by impending developments in Syria.

COPY TO - FULL CABINET
DEFENCE CO.
E.A.
INFORMATION
6/6/41

TELEPRINTED (No. 1696)

CABLEGRAM.

I.16591 B.

DECYPHER FROM -

Date Sent 3rd June, 1941.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

M.102. MOST SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. (My Circular M.101 of 31st May.) His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora has been instructed to convey a personal message from the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(a) Urging that Turkey stands to gain nothing from the political agreement with Germans and that any such agreement must make it increasingly difficult for the Turkish Government to maintain independent foreign policy.

(b) Pointing out the damage inflicted on Germans in Crete, our improved position in Iraq and the battle of the Atlantic and the real effect of United States' determination to ensure defeat of axis powers.

(c) Expressing the hope that the Minister for Foreign Affairs will reflect carefully on the position outlined under (b) before committing himself to a course of which the outcome is so dubious.

(d) In view of the danger of Germany playing off Turkey against the Soviet Union enquiring whether we might sound the Soviet Government as to how they view the manifestation of the German intention to exert intensive pressure on Turkey.

Copy to Defence Co-Ordination.
E.A.

Note. This message has been repeated by the Dominions Office at the instance of the Prime Minister's Department. It was not received here on the 4th June.

1/9/41.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM -
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

Date sent: 30th May, 1941.
8 p.m.
Received: 31st May, 1941.

No. 382.

MOST SECRET.

Turkey. My telegram No. 316, paragraph 2.

Since Von Papen's return to Angora he has been pressing the Turkish Government to open conversations with Germany. His chief line has been that all Germany was asking of Turkey was neutrality in the event of war between Germany and U.S.S.R.

At the same time Papen has held in the background a threat of possible joint action by Germany and U.S.S.R. against Turkey.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has on the whole been slow in telling the British Ambassador of his interviews with Papen. He declares that he has emphasized to Papen that any conversations must be on the basis of continuance of the Anglo-Turkish Alliance and that Papen accepts this, but he has shown clearly his conviction that conversations must be undertaken.

With a view to stiffening this weakened attitude of Turks, British Ambassador has continued to urge on them that they should establish contact with Soviet Union for joint measures against German menace. Minister for Foreign Affairs reply is that all Turkey's efforts with Russia have failed to evoke any response and it is useless to attempt anything further. Hugessen now considers it impossible to get the Minister for Foreign Affairs to move further in this direction.

Latest British approach to the Turks is to ask them to postpone opening conversations with the Germans for a fortnight, pointing out that by that time it is hoped that the situation in Iraq and Syria will have been cleared and the Turks themselves will therefore be in a stronger bargaining position.

STIRLING.

Copies to:
War Cabinet
Def. Co-ord. Dept.
31.5.41.
Sedgwick
Bracegirdle

Germany-Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

MOST SECRET

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON

I.8328
Via Imp Y 7 CE 49
DATED 22nd May, 1941
2200
RECEIVED 23rd May, 1941

Circular M.94. MOST SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

The German Ambassador at Angora has invited the Turkish Government to open conversations, and has hinted that unless Turkey comes to terms with Hitler, she will be faced by joint German-Soviet threat. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs is inclined to sound the Germans.

In response to the Minister for Foreign Affairs' request for our views, His Majesty's Ambassador has been instructed to state that we think that in referring to the Soviet Union, the German Ambassador was probably playing on Turkish fears and trying to embroil Turkey with the Soviet Union, and that we consider that the only safe course for Turkey is to explain the position frankly to the Soviet Government and ask their views.

We had already instructed His Majesty's Ambassador to impress on the Turkish Government the futility and the danger of discussions with the Germans.

2. While all indications seem to point to the likelihood of German Soviet conversations, probably involving German demands for increased supply of Soviet raw materials, German technical control of sources of Soviet supplies and transport, and Soviet co-operation in supporting Turkey to abandon alliance with us and open Turkish territory to German troops, we have no sure knowledge that conversations are taking place, nor how much the Soviet Government may have decided to yield.

Copy sent to - Full Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

TELEPRINT TO SYDNEY
& MELBOURNE

23.5.41

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.

Stirling
(Secretary.)

MOST

FILE COPY.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

SECRET
CABLEGRAM

1023

DECYPHER FROM
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICE,
LONDON.

Date sent 28th April, 1941.
7.30 p.m.
Received 29th April, 1941.

No. 278.

MOST SECRET.

Turkey.

Following is based on talk today with Southern Department.

Von Papen is due back at Angora within a day or two and will present various requests - and possibly threats - to Turkey. These may range from -

- (a) requests for change in attitude of press towards Germany (it is still on the whole satisfactory from British point of view), for increased commercial exchange, and perhaps for a non-aggression pact, and
- (b) demands for some form of adherence to Tripartite Pact or for passage of troops through Turkey.

Form of these demands is still matter for speculation only. Now that the Germans have a number of Greek islands near Turkish coast (though not yet Mitylene or Chios), and use of Dodecanese, they may aim to go on to Syria by sea, using the islands, and so would not need to ask for passage through Turkey.

Unless its published terms are false, recent Turkish German commercial agreement is not very serious. Total amount involved is only 300,000 Turkish pounds (\$50,000 sterling) and so far as is known Turkey will not supply Germany with chrome.

While the press is friendly to United Kingdom, radio has on more than one occasion been unsatisfactory and British Ambassador, Egypt, has had cause to complain (my telegram No. 270).

Turks are now showing signs of considerable alarm as they realize the significance of the Balkan collapse. This is brought home to them by the fact that the United Kingdom will now be unable to use the northern Turkish ports, thus confining commerce to Merzin and Alexandretta, in addition of course to the Basra route.

Turkish fears are illustrated in the two latest telegrams from Angora as there the Ambassador reports the Minister for Foreign Affairs as very depressed, and the Military Attaché in a telegram to the War Office states that the Deputy Chief of the General Staff is also depressed and suggests that he and the Air Attaché should proceed to Cairo to consult with General Wavell.

War Cabinet, this afternoon are reviewing United Kingdom policy towards Turkey in the light of latest developments. The Dominions Office will advise what is decided. Foreign Office have recommended that the United Kingdom should make concentrated effort to supply the Turks as soon and as much as possible in respect of their needs both military and civil (such as steel). Foreign Office consider this very necessary in view of intense German pressure on the one hand and on the other hand of Turkish doubts as to British position in Eastern Mediterranean. At a slightly later stage the United States would have to be brought into the picture to continue the supplies.

United Kingdom

United Kingdom recently urged the Turks to capitalize their exchange of assurances with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and ask for supplies but, whether out of suspicion of Russia or for some other motive, the Turks have apparently made no move in this direction.

STIRLING.

Copy to - War Cabinet
Defence Co-ordination
P.M.'s. Dept.
Capt Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick.

29.4.41.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

I.6006.

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM

Dated 18th April, 1941.
2130.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS.

Received 19th April, 1941.

CIRCULAR D.215.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister -

GERMANY - TURKEY.

My Circular D.208 paragraph 1.

The German Ambassador left Angora on 17th April for a short visit to Berlin. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs informed His Majesty's Ambassador that the German Ambassador had stated that he had written not long ago suggesting a visit but did not know whether his summons resulted from his letter. In reply to the German Ambassador's enquiry whether he could be of any use to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Berlin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs had replied that he had nothing to say; the exchange of messages with Hitler had taken place and he had nothing to add to or subtract from that.

(2) The Minister for Foreign Affairs answered negatively to enquiry by His Majesty's Ambassador whether the German Ambassador would return with proposals or pressure. The Minister for Foreign Affairs professed to think that this would not occur as Germany would not exercise pressure unless preliminary soundings indicated chance of success; He said that Turkey had no intention of giving in to such pressure.

(3) The Turkish Secretary-General has spoken on similar lines to the Greek Ambassador at Angora.

Copy to Cabinet.
Def.Co-ord.
E.A.
20.4.41.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.
£ _____

Referred.

Thalson
Secretary.
Prime Minister's Department.

Germany, Turkey
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM. I.4732

DECRYPTER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Cable PO 40 CE 16 W 85
DATED 29th March, 1941 - 1806
RUCD. 30th March, 1941.

Circular M.45. MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY

My circular D.147, paragraph 1.

H.M. Ambassador at Angora reports that he has learnt that when the Turkish reply to Hitler's letter was delivered, Hitler said to the Turkish Ambassador that he had supposed that Italy would be able to settle her own affairs with Greece but that it was absolutely necessary to keep the British out of Salonica. Salonica had been the beginning of Germany's defeat last time.

2. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs sent for the German Ambassador on 27th March in connection with this matter. Before seeing Von Papen, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs informed H.M. Ambassador that Hitler had spoken in a most friendly manner of Turkey and Turkish statesmen and of the former comradeship in arms, and that he had deplored the recent reduction in Turkish-German trade.

3. H.M. Ambassador did not understand clearly from the Minister for Foreign Affairs what was the reason for sending for the German Ambassador but gathered that the object was to make some reciprocation or expression of appreciation of Hitler's words. The Turkish special messenger had returned from Berlin shortly before.

Copy sent to - War Cabinet
Defence
30.3.41 E.A.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Cable X 39 CE 30/310

I. 4093

Dated: 17th March 1941

9 p.m.

Received 18th March 1941

Circular telegram D.147.

SECRET. Following for the Prime Minister.

TURKEY.

1. My circular telegram D.120.

The Turkish reply to Hitler's letter is believed to contain regret that German assurances not to descend into the Balkans have not been carried out. It reciprocates German assurances that they will not attack Turkey unless any action by the latter changes the situation and ends with hope for improvement and "normalization" of Turkish-German relations.

FAR EAST.

2. According to Prince Varnvaidya, the Japanese have not asked as yet from the Thais any price for their mediation. Prince Varnvaidya has informed H.M. Ambassador at Tokyo that hints that Thailand should enter the Japanese prosperity sphere have been discouraged though Thailand was prepared to consider commercial arrangements not prejudicial to her trade relations with other powers.

The Thai Government (though not Thai public) seem satisfied with the settlement but the French delegation appears to feel that the agreement will be reversed by France at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile, Franco-Japanese economic negotiations, in particular as regards supply of rubber to Japan, have been resumed.

Copy to War Cabinet
Defence
E.A.

18/3/41.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I.1803.

DECYPHER FROM

DATED 5th February, 1941.

10.30 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE RECEIVED 6th February, 1941.
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular Z. 35.

SECRET.

Newfoundland No. 102. Southern Rhodesia No. 56.

Following may be useful for the guidance of the
Press. (Source - Foreign Office).

BALKANS.

1. Recent disturbances in area though possibly of temporary inconvenience to the Germans should not be represented as favourable to the Allies. Roumania must be considered as under Germany's domination. Germans have been steadily increasing their land and air forces there since the end of last year.
2. Germany probably wishes to mass in Roumania a force large enough to intimidate Greece, Yugo Slavia and perhaps also Bulgaria. Information suggests that she hopes to avoid taking immediate action but that if she considers it necessary she can and will attack now through Bulgaria and possibly also through Yugo Slavia. In Bulgaria she seems to have already set up numerous advance posts and is steadily infiltrating now presumably in the hope that she may establish herself there in force without stirring either Turkey or Yugo Slavia to action. She would thus threaten Greece and drive wedge between Turkey and Yugo Slavia with the object of neutralising both.
3. Turkey remains loyal to treaty of mutual assistance and is systematically strengthening her defences and keeping troops in Thrace. She may be relied on to fight if directly attacked from any quarter and if her vital interests are threatened. It is still doubtful however what she would consider a threat to those interests.
4. There have recently been a few signs of existence of a more independent spirit in certain elements in Bulgaria but in view of her military weakness and political isolation she is not likely to do more than protest if Germany should move through her territory before infiltration is complete. If Turkey and Yugo Slavia can be brought closer together (of which development there is some hope) some form of co-operation with Bulgaria might ensue.
5. Yugo Slavia's geographical position creates difficulties for her. There has never been any doubt however that she would withstand any demand or attack by Italy and it is now much more likely than it was that she would offer equally resolute opposition to Germany.
6. After period of improvement Turkish-Soviet relations now show signs of wariness if not mutual suspicion. Turkish Government have not felt able to ask the Soviet for their views on the present Balkan situation. Russia may in general be said to dislike the idea of further German penetration towards the Straits but is unlikely to to anything that may lead to open clash with Germany.

Copy - War Cabinet,
Defence Co-ord.
Information
E.A.
6/2/41. (TELEPRINTED)

Germany Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 957

Imp 12/7 W 12

2 *copy*
DECYPHER FROM

DATED 20th January, 1941
1-15 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

RECEIVED 21st January, 1941

CIRCULAR D. 33.

S E C R E T

Following for the Prime Minister.

B A L K A N S.

(1) His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora has been instructed to urge the Turkish Government to issue a statement that they could not remain disinterested if German troops entered Bulgaria; it is hoped that it would encourage Turkish-Yugo-Slav co-operation, besides its possible deterrent effect on Germany.

(2) The present strength of German forces in Roumania is estimated at eight Divisions, including armoured and motorised Divisions. Plans are being completed to assemble a force of about 550 aircraft of all types, and ammunition and materials are being assembled along the Bulgarian Frontier. It is thought that German preparations for an offensive will not be completed until the end of February, though earlier action would be possible if necessary.

COPY - WAR CABINET
DEF. CO-ORD.
E.A.
21.1.41.

TELEPRINT

THE SECRETARY,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

REFERRED.

Shalan
SECRETARY

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM. 11641

DECYPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Dated - 6th December, 1940.
3.55 p.m.
Received - 7th December, 1940.

**MOST
SECRET**

(Recd. through the United Kingdom High Commissioner).

Circular Z.397.

MOST SECRET. Please give the following message to
the Prime Minister for his most secret and personal information.

(Begins).

TURKEY. We have been considering arguments for and
against Turkey entering the war to assist Greece. On balance
it has appeared to us that for the present it may be wiser not
to apply pressure directly on Turkey and to go to war at once
but instead to attempt in the first place to obtain some results
indirectly, for example as a result of a Turkish, or of proposed
joint Yugo-Slav-Turkish, pressure on Bulgaria (see paragraphs
3-5 of my circular telegram D.582).

2. These considerations have been put to H.M. Ambassador
in Angora who has been instructed meanwhile to do all he can to
persuade the Turkish Government to take an increasingly firm
attitude towards Italy, including measures which we hope they
may feel now more inclined to carry out, particularly breaking
off of diplomatic relations with Italy, expulsion of Italian
subjects and placing obstacles in the way of Italian merchant
shipping.

3. At the same time we have made clear to H.M. Ambassador
that provided Bulgaria makes no more, and Germany neither violates
Yugo-Slav nor Bulgarian territory, nor by (?)striking^x them
secures for herself free passage, we do not desire immediate
extension of conflict in the Balkans. If, however, there were
any doubt about Turkey being prepared to come in in these cases,
we would regard that as a conclusive argument for trying to bring
her in now by every means in our power. We have pointed out
that, as a corollary, in the event of German troops traversing
Bulgaria or Yugo-Slavia with or without Bulgarian or Yugo-Slav
assistance, or of Bulgaria moving alone, we consider it vital
that Turkey should fight there and then. Otherwise she will
find herself alone and it might be beyond our power to help her.

(Ends.)

Copy - War Cabinet
Defence
E. A. 9/12/40.

Germany Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I.11054.

DECYPHER FROM

Imp. 6/4 W. S.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 26th November, 1940.
1.30 p.m.
RECEIVED 27th November, 1940.

Circular D.586.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister -

IRAQ.

1. Circular D.571 Paragraph 2. The Regent and General Nuri are hesitating to eliminate Rashid Ali. His Majesty's Ambassador at Baghdad has been instructed to urge upon them the importance of immediate action and if opportunity occurs, to warn the Regent of the consequences if an anti-British Government came to power.

MOROCCO.

2. The Director of Military Operations and Intelligence has explained to the Military Attache at Madrid that the Spanish General Staff are maintaining reinforcements in the Spanish zone -

(1) lest trouble occurs in French Morocco from clashes between adherents of Petain and De Gaulle or De Gaullist attempt to take French Morocco;

(2) to resist an attack on Tangier by any power. He added that the object of military concentrations in the South of Spain was against the threat of a British landing in order to obtain land approaches to Gibraltar.

BALKANS.

3. Circular D.584 paragraph 1. On 20th November, the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, emphasising that Germany had no intention of descending into the Balkans, told the Turkish Minister at Sofia that the only development which might cause complication would be if "the British were to establish air bases at Salonika and in Western Thrace. He thought that this might be regarded by Germany as a threat to Roumanian oil."

4. Circular D.582, paragraphs 2, 3 and 4. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora that he intends to send a warning to the Bulgarian

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

- 2 -

11054.

Government in the sense that while confident that Bulgaria would spontaneously undertake no hostile action, the Turkish Government believe that the Bulgarian political organization differs from the Turkish and hopes that events may not occur which would place Bulgaria and Turkey in opposite camps. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the matter had not affected so far the Yugoslav Government for the Turkish Government to concert communication with them.

5. The German Ambassador at Angora on return from Berlin has represented to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs Germany's good intentions towards Turkey, at the same time urging that Turkey might fall in with the "new order" in Europe. The Minister for Foreign Affairs received the impression that Germany would not intervene in the Italian-Greek war as long as we did not create a "land front" in Greece.

Copy to - War Cabinet.
Def. Co-Ordn.
E. Affairs.
27.11.40.

group mutilated.

Germany-Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

I. 11089

Imperial CE 141/24 W 177

DECYPHER FROM

CABLEGRAM

DATED 25th November, 1940
11.15 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

RECEIVED 26th November, 1940.

CIRCULAR TELEGRAM D. 584.

MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

BALKANS.

1. On 21st November, the Minister for Foreign Affairs denied to His Majesty's Minister at Sofia that the Bulgarian representative had been invited to a conference at Vienna. He also described as fantastic, rumours that Germans had recently established control over certain aerodromes and wireless stations in Bulgaria.

2. (My Circular telegram D. 582). His Majesty's Minister in Sofia has received information that at the meeting with King Boris, Hitler asked Bulgaria to join the Tripartite Pact, but the King refused unless the U.S.S.R. were also a party. It was agreed that the Aegean Sea question should be kept forward but the King made it clear that Bulgaria would not use force. He also explained that he wished to do nothing which might antagonize Turkey. The Germans approved and indicated that they expected Turkey to revise her attitude towards Germany in the near future. Orders have now been issued to the press in Bulgaria that a friendly attitude to Turkey and Yugo Slavia is to be maintained and no further working up of territorial claims to take place.

U.S.S.R.

3. (My Circular D. 580). The Chinese Ambassador in Moscow gained the impression from a recent conversation with Lozovski that nothing on the political side had transpired during Molotov's visit to Berlin and that no Soviet-Japanese arrangement had been reached.

FAR EAST.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo reports that there is every reason to believe that, probably under German pressure, the Japanese have submitted to the Chinese Government terms of peace, which the Minister for Foreign Affairs considers so reasonable that, in his view, Chiang Kai Shek can hardly refuse them. This offer is probably accompanied by the threat of immediate recognition by the Axis powers of Wang Ching Wei in the event of refusal.

5. His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo has no doubt that the centre of Japanese interest has recently shifted away from China towards the Southern Pacific and that her most immediate objective appears to be complete economic and at least partial political control of Indo-China, which the Minister for Foreign Affairs hopes to obtain without firing a shot. His Majesty's Ambassador thinks that nothing but the firmest possible attitude of the United States will now prevent Indo-China falling into the hands of Japan.

COPY - WAR CABINET
E.A.
DEF. CO-ORD.
26.11.1940.

January Turkey

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 10698.
103 via Cable.

DECIPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Sent 22nd November, 1940
8.30 p.m.
Received 23rd November, 1940.

Circular D. 579.

M O S T S E C R E T.

Following for Prime Minister -

INDO-CHINA.

1. Economic Mission from Vichy is reported to be due to arrive at Tokyo shortly for further negotiations regarding trade between Japan and Indo-China.

TURKEY.

2. According to His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora, the Turkish Government are disturbed at King Boris's visit to Germany. They have decided to take precautions including a declaration of martial law within the next few days in Thrace, Istanbul, Izmit, Bosphorus, and Dardanelles districts, also evacuation of superfluous inhabitants from Istanbul. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has expressed satisfaction with the soundings at Belgrade and is following up indications of desire for Yugoslav - Turkish co-operation.

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Def. Co-ord., E.A.
23/11/40.

**MOST
SECRET**

January 1940
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 10702.
Via Imperial Ce 20/135.

DECYPHER FROM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
L O N D O N.

DATED 18th November, 1940.
10.50 p.m.
RECEIVED 19th November, 1940.

SECRET

Circular telegram D. 574.

S E C R E T.

Following for the Prime Minister :-

TURKEY.

(1) On 16th November, His Majesty's Ambassador at Ankara discussed with the Minister for Foreign Affairs the possibility of a German attack on Greece through Yugo Slavia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs admitted that this would be a direct threat to Turkish interests but agreed that even in the unlikely event of such a threat developing Turkey could do no good by declaring war on Germany since she could not send troops to Greece without exposing her flank to Bulgaria.

His Majesty's Ambassador stressed the political effects of declaration of war, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs finally agreed to put the matter before Cabinet if we desired.

Copy sent to -

War Cabinet
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.
19.11.40.

THE SECRETARY,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

REFERRED.

[Signature]
SECRETARY.

F

Greece Turkey
671.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

TELEGRAM FROM
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

Sent 1st November, 1940
5.58 p.m.
Received 2nd November, 1940.

S.200.

Chugai editorial 30th October wonders how smoothly and speedily British and Turkish assistance will be given Greece. Unless Britain gives immense practical assistance Greece will be overcome. Greek war not so much clash between Axis and Greco-Turkish camp as between Axis and Britain. Chugai commentator says for New Order it was necessary sooner or later for Axis to liquidate remaining elements relying on Britain. Axis must be cautious because Britain will take opportunity to create split between them and Russia over Turkey.

Kokumin says Britain wants to test Triple Alliance and Japan must be careful.

Yomiuri correspondent Istanbul says Turkey and Soviet will not come in, but Soviet has promised Turkey help if Germany attacks her.

Transocean report Japanese Foreign Office spokesman stated Wednesday in view Italo-Greek situation not being * Japan so far refraining from active measures but closely watching developments. Spokesman declined answer whether Japan informed beforehand of Italy's step.

Domei report that Sawado, Japanese Ambassador to France, has arrived Japan. He said France's war entry quite likely as result Hitler-Level meeting Moscow.

Press Thursday reported arrival Wednesday German Delegation led by Schaurre "to discuss progress of fulfilment of Soviet-German Economic Agreement".

* Word omitted.

2

Germany - Turkey
FILE COPY

575/

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CABLEGRAM

DECYPHER FROM: EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

No. 954.

Date sent: 9.25 p.m. - 20/10/40.

Date Recd: 1.30 p.m. - 21/10/40.

RUSSIA. British Charge d'Affaires, Washington,
told by Lewford Friday that American Ambassador, Moscow, under
impression that in the event of war between Axis and Turkey,
Russia would be strictly neutral.

STIRLING.

Copies to:

P.M.'s Dept. for War Cabinet
21/10/40.

Copies to:

Capt. Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick
21/10/40.

J

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

Date: 18th October, 1940.

Lodged 6 p.m.

No. 928.

Received 8.40 a.m. 19.10.40.

FOR PRIME MINISTER.MOST SECRET.

Turkey.

British Ambassador saw the Minister for Foreign Affairs on Wednesday after the Turkish Cabinet meeting. Latter said that his Government thought the object of the Germans was in the first instance local, i.e. to consolidate themselves in Rumania and make certain of the process; (2) aimed against Russia against whom Germans might proceed subsequently by seizing Straits or direct attack; (3) (though less likely) ostentatious attack on Turkey or demand for passage through Turkey. This would take the form of a propaganda and diplomatic campaign and finally, if this failed, of military action.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that there was no question of Turkey yielding to either propaganda campaign or direct attack. He then set out the various Turkish desiderata (a) direct contact by land with British forces in Middle East i.e. through Syria as soon as hostilities opened. (b) Help from R.A.F. (c) common action in naval sphere, and asked if extensive British help could be indicated as soon as possible.

In general Minister for Foreign Affairs appeared very firm.

Re U.S.S.R. Minister for Foreign Affairs said no news yet from Turkish Ambassador at Moscow. He thought it was impossible to count on the Soviet for anything owing to her intense fear of

Germany. He also thought, however, that recent German action in Rumania had made the Soviet more inclined to turn in our direction. He gathered that German advance had been started without any prior communication to the Soviet.

BRUCE.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

Dated: 22nd August, 1940.

Lodged 7.12 p.m.

No. 708.

Recd. 10.10.1940.

**MOST
SECRET**

TURKEY. MOST SECRET.

(1) U.S.S.R. Turkish Ambassador at Moscow has now arrived at Ankara but no report in yet as to discussions.

(2) GERMANY. Papen's conversation with the President last week on return from Berlin does not appear to have changed anything in Turkish-German relations. The Germans are now pressing the Turks for extension of the recent £20,000,000 agreement.

(3) United Kingdom. In view of the above, the United Kingdom Government are putting up to the Turks new scheme for commercial exchanges, to be carried out under United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.

No reply yet to United Kingdom Government's approach to Turks re Italian-Greek situation (Dominions Office telegram D.429).

STIRLING.

Copies to: War Cabinet
Mr. Strehen
Mr. Shedden 23/8/40.

Copies to: Capt. Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick 23/8/40.

Germany - Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

T. 5159.

via Imperial 253

DECYPHER FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,

LONDON.

Sent 7th July, 1940, 6.10

Received 8th July, 1940.

Circular D. 315.

M O S T S E C R E T.

FOLLOWING FOR PRIME MINISTER --

TURKEY - U. S. S. R.

The following commentary on the Turkish attitude and the Turkish-Soviet relations may be useful to you in assessing present developments in South-eastern Europe.

1. In the long run, Turkey's foreign policy is governed by that of Russia - the hereditary enemy whose age-long ambition is to wrest the Straits from Turkey. Whatever country is opposed to Russia is ipso facto favoured by Turkey. Thus, in the last war, Turkey sided with Germany largely because Germany was Russia's enemy and Great Britain was Russia's ally. Last year, when we started our negotiations with Turkey which led in autumn to the Tripartite Treaty, the issue was somewhat confused by -

- (a) the belief, which lasted even after the Soviet Union's invasion of Poland, that the Soviet Government had no expansionist ambitions and did not, like the Tsarist regime, covet the Straits;
- (b) the fact that at that time Italy had in Turkey's eyes taken the place of Russia as Enemy No. 1, owing to her occupation of the Dodecanese;
- (c) Turkey's suspicion that Germany wished again to revive the Drang nach Osten policy and her resolve not to lend herself again to this policy as she did in 1914.

2. It was in this atmosphere that our treaty was negotiated with Turkey last summer and autumn.

3. Since then Turkey has once more become aware and afraid of Soviet ambitions as regards the Straits, while her desire to take the offensive against Italy seems to have weakened.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 6159 -

4. At the same time, Turkey has come to the conclusion that she cannot expect from us the help that she had hoped for under the Treaty if she were attacked, especially now that France has collapsed. On Italy's coming into the war, she therefore found an excuse for not implementing her treaty obligations. The pretext for her abstention, however insincere it may be, was in effect based on the new facts of the situation. In other words, Turkey cannot risk coming into the war on our side unless she is sure that we can come to her defence if she is attacked

- (a) by Italy in the Aegean Sea;
- (b) by Germany through Bulgaria, and
- (c) by the Soviet Government either through Bulgaria, the Caucasus or by sea.

5. When Turkey signed her treaty with us she only had in mind (a) and (b). But now that the danger of (c) has arisen and is rapidly over-shadowing both (a) and (b) in Turkey's eyes, Turkey is fast reverting to her old attitude, when her policy was dictated solely by her fear of Russia. This is so much the case that if this fear should at any moment turn to panic she might very well perform a complete volte face and enter as close relations with Germany as she entered with us last autumn. This might happen if she felt that either with our connivance or as a result of our impotence in the Mediterranean the Soviet Government was going to make a concerted effort to seize the Straits. In that event, it is possible that she would appeal to Germany to defend her against such an attack, and Germany would have every reason to respond to this appeal. In the first place, as long as the idea of Drang nach Osten persists in Germany's mind, Germany badly does not want to have Russia established across her path in the Bosphorus; and secondly, Germany would naturally be only too willing to

CABLEGRAM.

detach Turkey from her present connection with us and set her back up once again as the protector of Turkey and the Near East against not merely Soviet but also British domination.

6. The seriousness, therefore, of a possible volte face on the part of Turkey should not be under-estimated, and it seems important to hold Turkey where she is, i.e. in position of a benevolent non-belligerent; and this not merely on account of her importance as a military and strategic factor in the Near East but because her example is bound to react on Egypt, Iraq and Iran.

7. It goes, of course, without saying that we should like to have Turkey in the war as a belligerent ally, but failing that we must strive:--

- (1) To reassure Turkey that the alliance with us, even if it does not give her all the security she requires, still represents the best policy for her to follow in the present circumstances.
- (2) To ensure that no efforts that we may make to collaborate with the Soviet Government should be such as to throw Turkey out of our orbit.
- (3) To prevent a breach or conflict between Turkey and the Soviet Government.

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Depts. Defence, E.A.

TELEPRINTED.

Germany Embassy
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 3 6 0 5

DEWINTER FROM:

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

W. 79 Via Cable 86/28

Dated 2nd June, 1940
1.20 a.m.

Received 2nd June, 1940.

CIRCULAR B. 111

SECRET

Following for Prime Minister:

SWEDEN

1. Agreement has been reached with Sweden providing for unloading and disposal of cargoes of Swedish ships now in the United Kingdom or French ports, and revised Anglo-Swedish shipping agreement is now in operation.

TURKISH-GERMAN TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

2. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Ambassador at Angora that the Turkish Government originally requested German goods including war material to total value of T. £30,000,000 of which Germans have undertaken to supply only T. £15,000,000, including only one tenth of war material.

3. Turkish Government has refused supply to Germany in exchange with chrome, cereals, walnut wood and wool, but propose supply limited quantities olive oil, mohair, valonea and cotton. Minister for Foreign Affairs intends to arrange separate classes goods which Germany will supply and only to allow essential commodities to go to Germany against actual delivery of more important classes of goods promised by Germany.

UNITED STATES.

4. President has revived Council of National Defence created 1916 from Secretary of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labour and has nominated ^{Advisory} ~~Advisory~~ Commission of seven.

Copy War Cabinet, E.A., Defence Co-ord., Asst. Min. &
Dept. Commerce, Minister & Dept. T. & C. 2/6/40.

**MOST
SECRET**

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

Dated 3rd April, 1940.

Lodged 6.51 p.m.
Received 8.30 a.m.
4/4/40

No. 216.

MOST SECRET.

TURKEY. My telegram No. 187 of 16th March.

(1) Germany. German diplomacy in Turkey seems now to be adopting conciliatory rather than bullying tactics. Report that the Turkish Government has suppressed German newspaper "Turkische Post" probably true.

(2) Italy. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs told the British Ambassador on 29th March that Italy had made no demarche of any kind there. When asked for impression of Italy's present attitude he made gesture indicating uncertainty.

(3) Russia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs gave as his view that Russia intended to lie low and recuperate.

(4) Bulgaria, according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, is now calmer. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he was prepared, if the Bulgarian Government remained uneasy, for them to send representative of the General Staff. (My telegram No. 177, paragraph 4.)

When the British Minister at Sofia is in London next week the Foreign Office will discuss with him project for British air Service across Bulgaria from Athens to Bucharest.

STIRLING.

COPIES TO:

War Cabinet
Mr. Shedden
P.M.'s Dept.
Mr. Sedgwick
Capt. Bracegirdle.

Germany-Turkey

**MOST
SECRET**

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

Dated 16th March, 1940.

Lodged 3.10 p.m.
Received 8.55 a.m.

No. 187.

MOST SECRET.

BALKANS AND MIDDLE EAST.

(1) Turkey-U.S.S.R. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs on Thursday night told the British Ambassador that relations were "normal but cold", and no attempt on the Russian side to improve them.

(2) Turkey-Italy. There have been rumours of Italian approach to Turkey for some form of co-operation in the event of Russian move in the Balkans. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that not true.

Turkish Ambassador in London has put forward as a personal suggestion the possibility of seeking solution of the Italian coal problem by means of triangular deal between the United Kingdom, Italy and Turkey. Under this Italy would supply Turkey with arms and war material (to which apparently ^{Italy} / has no objection in principle). Proposal has been referred to the British Ambassador at Rome.

(3) Turkey-Germany. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs states that von Papen has been cross-examining him closely regarding Anglo-French treaty and as to whether there are any additional secret engagements with the Allies. Von Papen said that Germany accepted the fact of the alliance but put forward as a personal suggestion that Turkey should make an agreement with Germany under which she would not take on any commitment with the Allies outside the treaty.

The British Ambassador considers this tentative approach shows German anxiety that the Allies might use Thrace, the Straits or Caucasus for an attack even though Turkey

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remained non-belligerent.

(4) Rumania. "Telegraph" and evening press here giving great publicity to King Carol's sudden reversal of policy regarding the Iron Guard. Germans will undoubtedly add this to their claims of great diplomatic triumphs along with Finnish peace and coal agreement with Italy. No advice yet from Legation at Bucharest but thought here that move may be part of Carol's technique of maintaining balance.

STIRLING.

COPIES TO:

War Cabinet
Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept.
Secretary, Dept. of Defence Co-Ord.
Mr. Sedgwick
Capt. Bracegirdle.

Turkey - Germany

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER,
LONDON.

DATED: 30th January, 1940.

Lodged 6.51 p.m.

No. 79.

Recd. 9.00 a.m.

IMMEDIATE. MOST SECRET.

Near and Middle East. Your telegram No. 19.

(1) Turkey.

(a) Relations with United Kingdom. My telegram No. 43. Gold was delivered at Ankara last week end, "suspense" clause will accordingly be cancelled, and agreements regarding credits of gold and clearings will now formally be published (but not agreements regarding chrome and dried fruits).

(b) Relations with Germany. Negotiations for a new German-Turkish trade agreement are proceeding but nothing definite known of them. United Kingdom have reminded the Turks of promise to consider the possibility of further Anglo-Turkish war trade agreement. The Turks will probably agree, for a high consideration, to sell United Kingdom their valonea crop, one of their large exports, which it is desirable should not reach Germany.

(c) Relations with France. Reference visit to Ankara by British General Butler for contacts with Turkish General Staff, General Weygand is now on a similar mission. The decision of the Allied Military representatives at Paris in December in favour of a purely defensive policy in the Near East (i.e. in case of attack by Germany or U.S.S.R.) as opposed to an offensive policy, still holds good. French and in particular General Weygand were inclined to offensive policy but British stressed view that any action e.g. at Salonika or in Turkey would have to be backed with very considerable numbers of troops and subject to the most thorough preparations.

(d) Relations with U.S.S.R. Owing to resistance by Finns to Soviet, Turkish General Staff are slightly less apprehensive of attack by the U.S.S.R. whether on the Caucasus

frontier or through Iran.. They have, however, made the earthquake a pretext for declaring martial law in Eastern Turkey and for unobtrusively moving troops there, ostensibly to restore order. They have also asked the United Kingdom for guns for this region. The only indication of any improvement in the Russian attitude is that Stalin seems to have gone out of his way to send a courteous reply to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs' congratulations on his sixtieth birthday.

(e) Relations with Italy. No change. Commercial contacts still continuing. Not thought here that there is anything sinister in the visit of de Bono and Balbo to Rhodes.

(f) Relations with the Balkans. Since the recent détente between Turkey and Bulgaria, the British aim has been to improve, if possible, Bulgaria's relations with her neighbours. Greece and also, to some extent, Yugoslavia remain suspicious of Bulgaria. On the other hand the Bulgarian Prime Minister recently told Lord Lloyd that Bulgaria would not attack Roumania and would agree to shelve the question of the Dobrudja till after the war. A declaration of this kind would be of much greater value if made to Roumania direct, and it has been decided here that an attempt to bring this about should be left to Turkey. Consideration has also been given here as to whether the United Kingdom can take any helpful steps in connection with meeting of Balkan Entente at Belgrade later this week. Decided better not, lest suspicions of individual states be aroused. However, the United Kingdom Government have asked the Turks whether they have any suggestions to make in this connection. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs will again visit the Bulgarian Prime Minister on his way to Belgrade.

End of Part one. Part two follows in telegram No. 80.

STIRLING.

Germany - Turkey
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

Via cable 23/6 23

702
DECYPHER FROM Secretary of State
for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

DATED 23rd November, 1939.
4.38p.m.
RECEIVED 24th November, 1939.

Unnumbered.

Your telegram 23rd unnumbers. Following is
repetition asked for of paragraph 2 of my circular B.385.

TURKEY.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs intends to propose to
Germany a commercial agreement by which she would undertake
to purchase with money blocked in Turkey, Turkish products
not on the list of German essential requirements; Turkey
would undertake to allow Germany to take goods on the list of
essential requirements against export of German materials
specially required by Turkey such as war material.

Copy Def.
E.A. 24/11/39.
Treas.
Commer.
Customs.

DECYPHER

CABLEGRAM.FI 76 Eastern Ce
& Corrections.FROM SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.Sent 17th November, 1939
2154
Received 18th November, 1939.

Circular telegram B.385.

SECRET.

Following for Prime Minister -

Turkey.

1. In conformity with their treaty obligations with Russia, Turkish Government have informed Soviet Government of Roumanian proposals for a neutral bloc in South-eastern Europe.

2. Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs intends to propose to Germany a commercial agreement by which she would undertake to purchase with money blocked in Turkey Turkish products not on list of German essential requirements; Turkey would undertake to allow Germany to take goods on the list of essentials being ^{requirements} against the export of German materials specially required by Turkey, such as war material.

Hungary.

3. Hungarian Minister here states that his Government are prepared to acquiesce in the continuance of existing boundaries of Roumania, but that if these were modified either with Russia or Bulgaria, Hungarian public opinion would demand a corresponding alteration in Roumano-Hungarian frontier. This demand might be resisted in the case of Roumania being forced to cede Bessarabia to Russia, but not in the event of Bulgarian occupation of Dobradja.

Iraq.

4. Iraqi Prime Minister has proposed to the Egyptian Prime Minister an alliance between Iraq, Egypt and Turkey.

Japan.

5. Russo-Japanese negotiations in Manchuria are reported to be proceeding satisfactorily. The majority of the Japanese General Staff are said to be in favour of Japan joining hands with Russia as best means of ending war in China.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

- 2 -

China,

6. Japanese forces have landed near Pakhoi in preparation for occupation of that port.

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Depts. Defence and A.A.

20/11/39

SECRET

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT

DECYPHER OF CABLEGRAM

Via Imperial 304/30

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

DATE SENT 29th August, 1939.

1.21 p.m.

DATE RECEIVED 29th August, 1939.

SECRET

Circular B.296.

Following for Prime Minister:

Turkey. In reply to the German Ambassador's enquiry on 26th August with regard to Turkey's attitude in an undertaking between Germany and Poland supported by France and Great Britain with Italy remaining neutral, the Turkish President stated that Turkey would act in accordance with her interests and commitment and would in any case be found in the camp opposed to Germany.

Copy has been sent to the Minister and Department of External Affairs
Minister and Department of Defence
Mr Hughes
Mr Casey
Senator McLeay
Mr Fairbairn.

29.8.39.

F

Germany - Turkey

TELEGRAM FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

Dated: 9th June, 1939.

No. 221.

Turkey. According to British Ambassador at Angora on 7th June, Turkish President and Minister for Foreign Affairs who had seen Herr von Papen on his return from Germany had received the general impression that so far German reaction to Anglo-Turkish negotiations is milder than they had expected. Minister for Foreign Affairs derived from von Papen's conversation the vague impression that the latter was (trying?) to convince him of Germany's pacific intentions and readiness to discuss outstanding problems with United Kingdom Government. Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested that there were two objects in this:- (a) to convince Turkish Government of the uselessness of Anglo-Turkish negotiations and (b) that these (7) (remark)s should be passed on to United Kingdom.

STIRLING.

Copies to Prime Minister
Minister E.A.
1/6. Capt. Bracegirdle.

13.6.39



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

S. 6654.

Air Mail - 21.4.39.
Due to Arrive - 1.5.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

Herr Hitler has appointed Herr von Papen as German Ambassador in Angora. It will be recalled that since his retirement early last year from a special mission in Vienna Herr von Papen has been en disponible.

2. The Turkish Government - according to 'The Times' correspondent at Istanbul - have signed a draft agreement with two German firms for the construction of a naval arsenal at a cost of £2,300,000. The arsenal is to be near Izmid. (Sea of Marmara)

3. The Times' correspondent reports that although President Roosevelt's message had clearly caused general satisfaction in Turkey, the Government's views had not yet been expressed.

Relations
with the
United
Kingdom.

4. You will have been fully advised as to developments in Dominions Office telegram of 20th April. (No 164).

Replied Stirling

RS

J

Germany Turkey

CONFIDENTIAL

S.6432

Air mail - 17.2.39.
Due to arrive - 27.2.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

MONTEUX CONVENTION

Our informant at Angora reported on 13th December that the Turkish Secretary-General to the Minister for Foreign Affairs had told him that the Germans were still worried about their position in relation to the Montreux Straits Convention and felt keenly their position of inferiority as the only Great European Power which could neither sign nor adhere.

The Secretary-General was going to Germany on 18th December, to undergo an operation there, and he hoped to evolve a formula before setting out.

2. On 11th February our informant reported that the Turkish Foreign Minister had informed him that discussions with the German Government about the Straits Convention had altogether lapsed. It was found that during Numan's visit to Berlin that no formula safeguarding the principles defended by the Turkish Government was acceptable to the German Government.

Thus so far as the Turkish Government are concerned the question is completely in abeyance.

OKS

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6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

S.6300.

Air Mail - 25.1.39.
Due to Arrive - 4.2.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

Relations with Germany.

Last letter R.971. See also S.5935 of 12th December.

It appears that in the recent negotiations of the Turco-German credits agreement in Berlin, the German negotiators were astonishingly yielding as regards all the main Turkish desiderata. The Turks had moreover rejected successively German requests (1) that credits should be calculated and should be repayable on a gold basis, (2) on a sterling basis, (3) that Germany should be guaranteed against a depreciation of the mark. In each case a Turkish refusal was accepted and Turkish obligations were therefore solely in marks. Lastly, the Germans asked for the right to re-sell the Turkish produce outside Germany in the event of Turkish repayments being in arrears. The Turks said no, the Germans again gave in, and the agreement was signed.

2. It is said that of 100,000,000 marks, 50,000,000 marks are for armaments, including aircraft.

3. It would seem very clear that the German negotiators had accepted very great and entirely unbusiness-like risks and probably by this must be measured the political importance which they evidently attach to the provision of these credits to Turkey.

There is no sign, however, that Turkish suspiciousness of of German political motives and German ambitions have been in any way allayed thereby.

Alfred Stirling

6, Richmond Terrace,
Whitehall,
London, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

S. 5935

Air Mail -12.10.38
Due to Arrive -22.10.38

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.Relations with Germany.

Last letter R.675 of 29th June re. Turkish trade delegation to Berlin.

2. The Times reported on 6th October that Dr. Funk, the German Minister of Economics, had arrived at Istanbul from Belgrade and left in the evening for Angora, where he would be the guest of the Turkish Government for three days. The object of his visit was to return the Turkish official visit to Berlin and to discuss various questions arising out of the Turco-German trade agreement signed in Berlin two months ago, which provided for a balance of trade limited to an annual value of £75,000,000 (about \$12,000,000). It was to be expected that Dr. Funk would take the opportunity to push forward traditional German propaganda in the Balkans, and it could not be denied that recent political events had enhanced German prestige in this part of the world. During the last ten years German commercial enterprise had been active in this country, but the award of the contract for the steelworks at Karabuk to a British firm and the industrial credits lately granted to Turkey by Great Britain had been regarded as something of a setback to German influence. It was natural, therefore, that Germany should now seek to recover some of her lost ground, and among the enterprises for which she was likely to bid seriously is the construction of plant for the manufacture of chemicals and synthetic petrol, which figure prominently in the industrial plan lately announced by the Prime Minister, M. Jemal Bayar.

3. On the 7th October The Times reported that Dr. Funk had been given a warm reception in Angora. The Turkish Minister of Economy gave a dinner and reception in his honour. Dr. Funk, replying to the speech of welcome, said that Germany was anxious to develop to the utmost her trade relations with Turkey, as well as with other nations, but she did not wish to eliminate fair competition nor did she entertain political designs under cover of economic expansion. On the contrary, Germany's ambition was to contribute to the peaceful prosperity of these countries.

4. An official report on Dr. Funk's visit has now arrived from Sir. F. Lorraine. He states that the Turkish Ministers on 6th October discussed with Dr. Funk the question of the German credit to Turkey up to 150,000,000 marks. No details were gone into. The Germans evinced a particular desire to supply armaments and asked the Turkish Government to state what war material they needed and for what purpose. The Turks failed to give any particulars on either point. As however the German proposals were put

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amiably and the Turks did not wish to turn down an apparently friendly offer they agreed that in principle the offer was acceptable and a communiqué to this effect was to be issued before Dr. Funk left. Dr. Aras informed Sir. P. Lorraine that this was really nothing more than an agreement to reach an agreement later on. The Germans had asked for 5½ per cent: they were knocked down to 5 per cent. The Turks had left their hands free to use the full amount, part of the amount or none of the credits. Payment was to be made in goods and not necessarily until seven years after signature of a particular contract. All projects and details were to be discussed later. Dr. Aras assured Sir. P. Lorraine positively that there would be no encroachment on the contract with the British under the Anglo-Turkish agreement or on the security for the repayment of British credits; and he undertook to exercise particular vigilance in this respect. He thought an order for quite secondary military supplies for a not considerable sum might be given to the Germans and possibly a couple of industrial plants. The Turkish attitude towards this German overture seemed (the Ambassador concluded) to be friendly but wary.

(SIGNED) ALFRED STIRLING



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

S. 5400.

Air Mail - 27.4.38.
Due to Arrive - 9.5.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

In continuation of S.5383 and the report that Herr von Papen was likely to be appointed German Ambassador at Angora, Press reports now state that Herr von Papen is shortly to leave on a voyage round the world. 'The Times' correspondent in Berlin states that having declined the offered post at Angora Herr von Papen has retired, at least temporarily, into private life. The Daily Herald recently published a report that Baron von Ketteler, Herr von Papen's secretary, was found dead in Vienna during the Easter holidays, and there have been various reports that Herr von Papen had been closely questioned about his secretary's political activities. The German Foreign Office denied suggestions that Herr von Papen was in disgrace.

Alfred Stirling.

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Germany Turkey
Copy Detached for Mr. Nathan
Th
CONFIDENTIAL

S. 5383.

Air Mail - 23.4.38.
Due to Arrive - 5.5.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

Relations with Germany.

Last letter S.5306.

Our informant at Angora telegraphed on 7th April that he had heard from a source that is as a rule particularly well informed that two German offers had recently been submitted to the Turkish Prime Minister but he was not clear whether they were alternative or complementary:-

- (1) To finance and supply machinery and equipment for (a) a power station at a new Black Sea port, and Kutahya, (half-way between Angora and Smyrna), (b) the extraction of mineral ores.
- (2) To finance the whole of Turkey's second five year plan to the tune of £2150,000,000 - say £20,000,000.

Also that the Turkish Prime Minister was being pressed to visit Berlin after his forthcoming visit to Athens in the hope of obtaining his signature to some commitment, the effect of which would be to detach Turkey from Russia and substitute German political and economic influence in Angora for that of the United Kingdom: whereupon Herr von Papen would be appointed German Ambassador at Angora in order to develop the position.

It seemed to our informant probable that the economic offers referred to in paragraph (1) had actually been made. He was more sceptical as regards the circumstances alleged in paragraph (2). He thought it most unlikely that the Prime Minister would accept such an invitation. But apart from these reports our informant had the impression that the Turkish Government scented as imminent a vigorous German offensive of friendship and were bracing themselves to receive and deal with it. If this were to come about our informant's expectation is that they will hold quite firm on political issues. It is difficult, however, to calculate how much economic pressure Germany could bring to bear if she strained every nerve. If Herr von Papen was sent to Turkey the appointment would be a significant one. The Turks would not relish his arrival in Angora, for in former days he was closely identified with Enver Pasha, but they would probably not refuse his agrément.

Jan *F*



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

S. 5306.

Air Mail - 2.4.38.
Due to Arrive - 16.4.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

Relations with Germany.

See S. 5193.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs at Angora in a private conversation confided that Herr von Ribbentrop almost immediately after assuming office as German Minister for Foreign Affairs had addressed himself to Dr. Aras in order to ascertain what were the views of the Turkish Government about the future of Turco-German relations.

Dr. Aras said that after careful consideration he sent a reply to Herr von Ribbentrop in the following sense:-
Turkey's vital needs are peace, security and development. Turkey enjoys very friendly relations with Russia and can never forget the support and assistance which Russia gave her in the early days of the Kemalist Republic. Turkey also enjoys the friendliest possible relations with the United Kingdom who, besides being likewise devoted to peace and security, is giving her assistance in her development which goes beyond Turkey's expectations. It would therefore be utterly impossible for Turkey to belong to any combination or to make any engagement which could conceivably be harmful either to the United Kingdom or Russia. Turkey is bound to her western neighbours by the Balkan Pact and to her Eastern neighbours by the Pact of Saadabad. She will fulfil engagements she has accepted in each case. It is entirely impossible for Turkey to consider any fresh political orientations or engagements except in consultation and agreement with both sets of partners. This being said, Turkey appreciates German friendship and Germany can be assured that Turkey will not join in any combination directed against her. Dr. Aras wishes to know whether in the opinion of Herr von Ribbentrop, Turco-German friendship can in these circumstances continue on its present basis.

2. Dr. Aras expects to receive Herr von Ribbentrop's reply shortly.

Reactions to
Mr. Chamber-
lain's speech.

3. On 24th March Sir P. Loraine reported that Dr. Aras expressed great admiration for the Prime Minister's speech "made in circumstances of grave and complex difficulty. He was impressed by its sobriety, its plain mark of manifest honesty. His principal feeling was that it had powerfully contributed to the removal of the threat of war in 1936. Its effect could be measured by nature of its reception in Paris, Prague, Rome and Berlin. It could hardly be well received in Moscow but that could not be helped. Moscow was always

FNA

sensitive to an enhanced feeling of isolation, but he himself recognised the imperative necessity which the Prime Minister so obviously felt of leaving nothing undone which might dissolve the critical situation in Western Europe and the Mediterranean. He saw in the speech further proof of the Prime Minister's determination to take bulls by their horns."

Alfred Stirling.

Germany - Turkey

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

S. 5193.

Air Mail - 12.3.38.
Due to Arrive - 26.3.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

TURKEY.

With reference to S. 5143, the British Ambassador at Angora reports that the Turkish Government are in some uncertainty regarding a suggestion made by Herr von Ribbentrop to the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin that he (von Ribbentrop) should pay a visit to Angora. Dr. Aras told Sir P. Loraine that he had an oral and personal understanding with Baron von Neurath that politics were to be left out of Turco-German relations; he was in doubt whether Herr von Ribbentrop was aware of this or would consider himself bound by it. What was certain, however, was that Turkey would not allow herself to be drawn into political contacts with the Reich. Dr. Aras said that of course he would treat Herr von Ribbentrop's approach with the utmost courtesy, but he felt that many things would have to be cleared up - meaning the relations of the United Kingdom Government with Italy and Germany - before a visit to Angora by Herr von Ribbentrop became convenient and unobjectionable.

Refud Shilling

Em
LC
Jan
WHL